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ABSTRACT

This document includes: (1) a special report by the Office of the Chancellor of the Pennsylvania State System of Higher Education on the system's equity plan, "Excellence and Equity: A Plan for Building Community in Pennsylvania's State System of Higher Education"; (2) an opinion piece titled, "The Problem of Black Students Retention at White Universities: Fabulous Financial-Aid Package--Not the Answer" (John Okegbe Bello-Ogunu), which highlights issues other than financial aid that impact upon retention of black students; (3) two articles, "Counseling African American Student-Athletes: Implications for Academic Counselors" (Darren J. Hamilton; Sherry L. Price), which identifies some barriers to the academic and career success of African American student-athletes, and "Revising Nigrescence Theory: Racial Identity Development Among Students Attending Historically Black Institutions" (M. Christopher Brown, II), which provides a critical analysis of W.E. Cross's theory of nigrescence [black racial identity]; (4) a position paper, "Intelligence, Race and Social Policy: A Response to The Bell Curve'" (Melvin R. Allen); and (5) a book review, "Emotional Intelligence: Daniel Goleman," by Alicia King Redfern. (MAB)

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Volume 12 Spring 1997

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Excellence and Equity: A Plan for Building Community in Pennsylvania's State System of Higher Education

Office of the Chancellor
State System of Higher Education
Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

Acknowledgement: *The Executive Summary, which appears below was reprinted with permission of the Office of the Chancellor of the State System of Higher Education (SSHE) of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. For copies of the full report and/or additional information contact Mr. Byron A. Wiley, System Director of Social Equity, State System of Higher Education, 2986 North Second Street, Harrisburg, PA 17110, (717) 720-4040.*

Executive Summary

The Equity Plan, the successor policy document to the *Affirmative Action and Equal Opportunity Plan: a Prospectus*, is designed to meet three major objectives: 1) to serve as the policy reference for System-wide equity and diversity efforts for the remainder of the decade; 2) to serve as the policy and procedural blueprint for efforts of the System's individual universities; and 3) to clearly articulate the State System's vision for the future and its moral and legal voluntary commitment to making that vision a reality.

The Equity Plan relates directly to the *Prospectus*, which provides essential information regarding the System's equity goals and procedures to date; to *Priorities for Pennsylvania's State System of Higher Education during the 1990s*, which provides the philosophical foundation on which the goals of the Equity Plan have been developed; and to *Emphasis on Values*, which reaffirms the centrality and criticality of equity as a fundamental element of academic excellence.

The establishment of community overlays all elements of the Equity Plan. This dynamic concept defines environments in which difference is not merely tolerated but celebrated, and which are characterized by common goals and values and mutual respect and responsibility. Through community, the System universities will advance from the ideal of diversity to the ideal of pluralism, attaining the interdependent goals of equity and excellence. Thus, the quantitative and qualitative measures of achievement take on added meaning and relationship. The Equity Plan challenges everyone at a university to be actively involved in the creation of a welcoming, nurturing climate in which students, staff, and faculty develop and flourish personally and professionally. This will promote understanding, tolerance, respect for others, and, ultimately, community; it also will better prepare System graduates to be productive, contributing members of an increasingly diverse society and workforce.

The plan's major subject areas are: 1) students, 2) personnel, and 3) economic opportunities. Each is addressed from the perspective of the present status of the System, the goals of the System, and recommendations regarding strategies and resources for goal attainment. The personnel section also addresses the important issue of gender equity.

Students

The key, inter-related aspects of the plan's student section are access, retention, and graduation. The plan recognizes the need for enhanced access for Black and Latino students. Equally important is the quality of the curricular and extra-curricular life of all students without limitation or reservation due to age, race, sex, ethnicity, socio-economic background or status, religion, physical condition, or affectional orientation. System-wide goals and university minimum performance standards for the enrollment of Black and Latino students have been calculated, based on Commonwealth demographics and projected high school graduation rates, and on university performance during the term of the *Prospectus*.

The Equity Plan also provides suggested strategies and lists of "promising practices" for recruitment, retention, and graduation of racial/ethnic minorities. Campus climate probably is the primary factor which determines the quality of the students' academic experience and defines what type of relationship the student will retain with the university as an alumnus.

Personnel

All members of the university, regardless of their employment category or pay grade, are contributing components of the university enterprise. Therefore, the contribution of all members of the university family is important to the achievement of community.

The Equity Plan presents guidelines for establishing and evaluating hiring goals, and mandates that each university has an affirmative action plan to define goals and monitor quantitative progress. The Equity Plan also addresses the principal issues of System policy and objectives related to gender equity, persons with disabilities, and veterans.

Recognizing its responsibility to address the specific needs of women and to bring them fully into the life and operation of the universities, the State System reaffirms the commitment, initially made in the *Prospectus*, to adoption of the guidelines developed by the American Council on Education (ACE) Commission on Women in Higher Education. Additionally, it declares its total opposition to the pernicious and destructive practice of sexual harassment, and mandates that every System university develop and implement a written, comprehensive sexual harassment policy. The Equity Plan provides additional information and guidelines in support of this requirement.

Persons with Disabilities and Veterans

Persons with physical disabilities as well as those with learning disabilities fall within protections accorded by the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA). Moreover, the implications and applications of ADA are not limited to students, but include faculty, staff, administrators, and, in some instances, the public.

The Equity Plan addresses the minimum ADA requirements for each System university and also provides a list of external resources from whom additional assistance and/or information can be obtained, and a list of promising practices as guidelines for interacting with persons with disabilities.

The Veterans' Preference Law applies to system universities in the conduct of all instructional and non-instructional faculty, administration, and management positions that are filled by means of search-and-screen procedures. It should be used as a tie-breaker in cases where a veteran and a non-veteran are equally qualified for a position.

All universities engaged in federal contracting also must comply with the Vietnam Era Veterans' Act. This act requires, in part, that "the party contracting with the United States shall take affirmative action to employ and advance in employment qualified special disabled veterans and veterans of the Vietnam era."

Economic Opportunities

Although the provision of quality, affordable education to the citizens of the Commonwealth is the State System's primary mission, the actual influence of the System extends well beyond the geographic boundaries of the universities. Moreover, as publicly owned institutions, the System universities probably are the most widely monitored of Pennsylvania's many higher education operations. One way the System demonstrates that it practices the equal opportunity that its policies declare is by ensuring that economic opportunities within the universities are extended to minority and women business enterprises.

In the absence of national or statewide comparison figures for economic opportunity activities, the Equity Plan presents a summary of the System's recent scope of participation with minority- and women-owned business enterprises (MBE/WBEs) and offers recommendations for increasing that participation.

Requirements

In pursuit of community through diversity, each System university will:

- Design and implement an affirmative action plan which will be updated annually;

- Design and implement a university equity plan which, as a minimum, will address the university's plans and goals in the areas of students, personnel, and economic opportunities;
- Submit no later than February 1 of each year a report of equity performance during the preceding academic year;
- Participate in a bi-annual symposium on effective programs and practices; and
- Receive a detailed review of its equity program.

Responsibilities

The responsibilities addressed in the Equity Plan are voluntary responsibilities which all members of the university family are urged to accept, since all will benefit from the type of organizational change which lies at the heart of the plan.

Such change will not occur instantaneously but, if sustained, the objective of moving the System to a position of pre-eminence in addressing this most challenging issue can be achieved. Review and analysis of other states confirms that the colleges and universities most successful in addressing diversity passed through three stages of change.

The first stage is removal of barriers to participation. The second stage consists of the colleges and universities helping students to achieve. And the final stage is changing the learning environment through assessment, learning assistance, improved teaching strategies, and curricular reform.

Presidential leadership is paramount to achieving the Equity Plan goals. However, faculty, student life administrators, staffs, students, and the Office of the Chancellor also must be actively involved. The Equity Plan presents lists of recommendations for each of these constituencies.

Conclusions

The Equity Plan is comprehensive in scope but its content is not all-inclusive. The plan minimizes requirements and maximizes the challenge and opportunity for each university to contribute to the State System's achievement of community. The ultimate success or failure of this effort is not so much a question of new resources as a question of dedication and application of existing resources and commitment to a principle. Within the treasured university tradition of freedom of intellectual inquiry and rational discourse, there is room for difference of opinion about how the goal will be accomplished without denying the goal's legitimacy nor the System's commitment to making it a reality.

The complexion, complexity, and composition of the world society already has undergone dramatic change. Diversity is a reality. The issue is how and with what style and quality the State System of Higher Education will adjust its operations to effectively and efficiently accommodate diversity.

Excellence is what the system proclaims, diversity is what we face, and community is what we seek. The Equity Plan recognizes that, as a university executive has stated, "Community with diversity is an act of creation rather than an act of tradition."

Opinions & Views

The Problem of Black Students Retention At White Universities: Fabulous Financial-Aid Package - Not the Answer

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Note: Opinions and views here expressed do not necessarily represent or reflect those of the editorial board of the PBCOHE Journal nor have they been officially endorsed by the Executive Committee, the governing body of PBCOHE, Inc.

The issue of effective recruitment and retention of black students in higher education has always been a difficult task for most white colleges and universities in the United States since the famous (or infamous) 1954 U.S. Supreme Court case -- *Brown vs. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*. However, the task is even more challenging today due to several factors: the culturally attractive nature of historically black colleges and universities, increasing competition from community colleges, and a declining pool of prospective college students. Other factors include federal and state financial-aid cutbacks, higher cost of college education, the availability of more well-paying jobs which do not require a college degree, and the increasing negative attacks on Affirmative Action Programs.

While a few white colleges are achieving success in their recruitment of minority students, most continue to lose their black students in spite of their 'attractive' financial-aid offers. Many administrators in these institutions often wonder why they are failing and what else they could do to achieve better results. Having served in various multicultural affairs capacities, including African-American Student Advisor, International Student Advisor, Director of International Student Services, and Associate Dean for Multicultural Affairs, I know first hand that there is no 'magic' to the successful retention of black students, and, fabulous financial-aid package is not the answer either. If offering the much needed financial-aids to black students is not the answer to their untimely exit from most white campuses, what then must white college officials do to retain them?

To be successful in their continuing black students-retention efforts, white colleges and universities must do two things: First, they must know and understand the major issues and problems black minority students face on white campuses. And second, they must create and maintain a multiculturally conducive campus environment for their minority students to live and to study. This is not to imply that financial-aid is no longer an important part of a college's minority retention program. What it does mean, however, is that for the financial-aid component of the

program to be effective, minority students must feel wanted, accepted, and be happy in their new environment.

Most, if not all, black students in most white academic institutions face many unique problems. If left unresolved, these problems can, and in many cases, have resulted in poor academic performance, social withdrawal, and total withdrawal from college by black students. What are these problems? They include, but are not limited to, lack of viable support systems; prejudicial attitudes and behaviors by some members of the campus community; feelings of alienation and loneliness; lack of multiculturally inclusive and relevant institutional programs and activities; lack of black role models and mentors; lack of genuine concern for black students' culturally related problems and needs, which often are dismissed as "ordinary everyday college life problems," or as "isolated problems/needs;" and lack of black students representation in student organizations and in residence halls governance. How do the preceding problems affect black students retention?

Most black students arrive at their new academic 'home' [campus] expecting to see the friendly and multiculturally diverse campus their admission-recruiters had described to them, and to experience the same kind of warm and friendly treatment with which they were greeted a few months earlier by the same recruiters. But what they often find is a completely different campus 'world' -- a world of institutional abandonment and of occasional blatant prejudices. In her study titled *Blacks in College*, Jacqueline Fleming surveyed several thousand black undergraduates in both Southern and Northern States, and found that most of those attending integrated colleges said they felt "abandoned by the institutions, rebuffed by fellow students, and inhibited from taking part in any but all-black organizational activities."

In most white colleges, many black students complete an entire academic year without ever taking a class under a black professor, or even seeing one on campus; and in some colleges where there is no single black faculty or administrator [and there are many of such institutions in today's academe], black students are left without black faculty or administrator-mentors and/or role models. What they are most likely to see probably throughout the course of their college career are black janitorial and clerical staff or black coaches -- an experience which hardly reinforces a sense of dignity and self-esteem in the black students. Worse still, most black students begin and end their college career in many white institutions being the only black in most of their classes. As a result of these alienating factors, many black students fail to perceive or develop any sense of affinity and identity with their institutions. The question now is: What should white institutions do to improve their black students retention rate? Following are some simple suggestions.

Suggestions for Success in Black Students Retention

A. Institutional Commitment:

1. White colleges or universities must have an *honest* desire for, and a commitment to, the retention of their black students. A white institution's interest in retaining its black students must not be motivated by its desire to have a successful athletic program, or to

simply fulfill its cultural diversity goal. Instead, it should be driven by the institution's commitment to preparing black students for the challenges of life through quality education.

2. Establish and aggressively enforce a clearly defined institutional policy or policies for the retention of black students.

3. A high level of institutional commitment must be demonstrated through the establishment of an 'autonomous' and empowered presidential cabinet office, whose sole responsibility is the successful retention of black and other minority students. An alternative approach is to establish *a community-wide presidential advisory board or council* with the same responsibility as the presidential cabinet office. In addition to other appointees, members of the advisory board must include black and other minority faculty, students, administrators, and at least two external minority community leaders [e.g., a church pastor, community youth leader, and/or a high school principal].

B. Academic Success:

4. Establish a comprehensive "minority student academic progress-monitoring program."

5. Establish a "Black faculty/staff mentorship" program. In the absence of black faculty and staff on campus, establish institutional faculty/staff mentorship program with a special focus on the black students. Encourage white mentors to maintain regular contact with their black mentees.

6. Establish a "minority student academic achievement award" program to promote and encourage higher academic achievements among black and other minority students.

C. Creating and Maintaining Comfortable Campus Environment:

7. Increase the number of black role models and mentors on campus through aggressive institutional minority faculty and staff recruitment policies. Increase the number of blacks in positions of authority [e.g., vice presidents, provosts, deans and chairpersons] for black students to look up to. Another way of accomplishing this objective is to establish attractive and active "minority faculty and administrative staff fellowship" programs. This would ensure a steady presence of black role models and mentors on campus, thus making it easier to establish a "Black faculty-staff mentorship" program. It also would help to resolve the so-called problem of "unavailability or insufficient number of qualified black candidates" for faculty and staff positions in white institutions. While some white institutions are already experimenting with this approach, most are yet to take advantage of its multi-benefits.

8. Create and maintain culturally comfortable campus environment for black students through the development and regular implementation of campus-wide, culturally inclusive and relevant social programs and activities [e.g., an annual Multicultural

Festival consisting of ethnic cultural art shows, drama, film shows, ethnic foods, lectures, workshops, panel discussions, etc.].

9. Establish annual "welcoming" social events for minority students [e.g., an annual welcoming banquet or reception for new minority students; minority parents or family weekend; end-of-year minority student banquet, etc.].

10. Promote and encourage the establishment of all-minority organizations and programs [e.g., all-black, all-hispanic or all-native-american clubs or associations and programs], and strengthen existing ones.

11. Encourage through appropriate Student Life policies, more and greater black students participation in student leadership programs, and especially in *residence halls governance*. Culturally inclusive and relevant social and educational programs/activities should be regularly hosted by the residence halls.

12. Establish a "Black Alumni Caucus or Association" and make it a permanent working partner with the college, especially in recruitment and retention operations.

13. Establish an on-going working relationship with local black business, church and other community leaders, and regularly involve them in the academic and social lives of your black students.

14. Involve your returning or senior black students in your recruitment and retention planning and operations. Prospective and new black students are more likely to trust and believe what they hear from their fellow blacks than what they are told by a white recruiter -- with the exception of a white football or basketball coach.

15. Establish a clear institutional procedure for dealing with black students' complaints, especially those involving racial prejudices, inter-racial tension and/or hate crimes. Include at least two blacks [a student *and* a faculty or staff] in your judicial and/or grievance committees.

16. Regularly conduct multicultural diversity training workshops and seminars for students, faculty, and staff [especially residence halls staff], including the administration. The workshops should emphasize the value and methods of implementing diversity on campus, how to deal with hate activity and interracial tension, and how to improve multicultural relations.

17. Academic curricula should be multiculturalized. In other words, develop curricula that include courses and/or course content that relates to the cultural diversity of contributions to various academic disciplines. Along with this, faculty should be trained on ways to incorporate cultural diversity into their courses and on faculty-student multicultural interaction, especially in the classroom.

For any and all of the above suggested retention strategies to succeed, they must continue to receive strong and unconditional support from the institution's president and his or her cabinet; and they also must be willing to defend them against the inevitable vicious criticisms from those who might be opposed to so-called "preferential treatment for minorities," "reverse discrimination," or "racial quotas."

Conclusion

The retention of black students in white U.S. academic institutions is a difficult problem. It is also a problem whose causes are not entirely the fault of the institutions themselves. For instance, the nature of the location of a college [the size and the racial composition of the city or town], and the sometimes unrealistic expectations by some black students of white colleges, also contribute to the retention problem. However, it is a problem that can be solved. Its solution is within the reach of the leadership of white institutions.

White academic institutions must demonstrate a genuine desire for, and a commitment to, the retention of their black students. They also must recognize the fact that the successful recruitment of black students does not automatically guarantee their retention; nor does the award of fabulous financial-aid packages without a full academic and social integration of their recipients. Not until black students in white institutions have reasons to feel that they "belong" or connected to the institution will their retention always remain a mere fantasy.

Counseling African American Student-Athletes: Implications for Academic Counselors

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Abstract: *The purpose of this article is to identify some barriers toward the academic and career development of African American student-athletes. Obstacles might have an adverse effect on the academic progress and athletic performance of this population. Hence, it is essential that academic advisors and professionals in counseling and development are aware of the barriers that might be encountered as student-athletes from different backgrounds seek to maximize their academic and athletic potential. These obstacles are discussed, along with implications for professionals who work with this population.*

Counseling African American Student-Athletes

African American college student-athletes' access, performance, and persistence in the United States (U.S.) higher education is a matter of considerable interest. They experience many barriers to their academic and athletic performance. Their alternative perspectives and different experiences present a challenge to professionals providing academic, personal, and career counseling services -- a challenge that can no longer be overlooked. In the athletic environment, issues of cross-cultural differences are frequently encountered. In order to deal more effectively with the academic needs of these populations, academic advisors and counseling professionals must identify and examine the major factors that hinder the academic development of African American student-athletes.

Review of the Literature

Cheatham (1991) has identified African American student-athletes as having special needs. However, while there is an understanding among scholars that these clients face somewhat unique circumstances in preparing for their careers, there exists a dearth of literature addressing this issue. Often, the literature that is available is confounded by gender and class variables. Inconsistencies are common, and much of the research is debatable (Ospow, 1983; Brooks, 1984).

Areas of agreement exist among scholars that the issues concerning the academic success of African American student-athletes receive more attention. It has been shown that preparation, aspiration, and expectations may differ by gender and class (Carey, 1990). It is agreed that early outreach becomes essential when working with African American student-athletes (Lourenco, 1983; Hoyt, 1989). The need to bridge the gap between school and career decision making is a priority in understanding the importance of family influence (Stronge, Lynch, & Smith, 1987). For example, white students more often have parents who attended college, which may give them an advantage that many African American students lack (Hall & Post-Kammer, 1987).

African American student-athletes frequently demonstrate an insufficient knowledge of available academic and career options. There exists a need to broaden the knowledge base of African American students in academic and career options (Dunn & Veltman, 1989; Hall & Post-Kammer, 1987). Most African Americans are underrepresented in engineering and science programs (Smith, 1980).

Experts agree that career information and planning alone will not solve the academic problems faced by African American student-athletes. Hoyt (1989) presents discouraging statistics regarding the limited educational equity of minorities. His recommendations include renewed attention to Sinick's (1977) suggestions that counseling professionals be actively involved in producing and using new knowledge to minimize bias and stereotyping. Hoyt (1989) also undergirds massive social service efforts that include comprehensive educational reform from pre-school years throughout adulthood. Cheatham (1990), presented a cultural-specific model of career development for African Americans. He suggests that society is best served by models that incorporate the experiences of all its co-cultures. There is a consensus among researchers that issues related to the academic and career development of African Americans is unique. Counseling models that recognize cultural differences as well as the psychological stress experienced by African American student-athletes are needed.

Discussion of Barriers

One of the primary barriers is self-esteem. Sometimes African American student-athletes, as a result of political, economic, educational, and other factors, exhibit lower levels of self-esteem than the majority student-athlete population. If African American student-athletes do not feel good about themselves, it will probably be more difficult for them to focus on their performance in the classroom or in the athletic arena.

African American student-athletes often perceive themselves as having minimal control over their environments (Dean, 1984); consequently, students who have this external locus of control need to feel empowered (de Charmes, 1972). Counseling that promotes movement from an external to an internal locus of control can immediately enhance self-esteem and enable African American student-athletes to become more goal-oriented.

Additionally, the unrealistic expectations and aspirations of many African American student-athletes have increased phenomenally as the financial rewards of "superstar" status are projected by the media into their lives on a daily basis (Kennedy & Dimick, 1987). Despite the

odds, African American student-athletes frequently believe that they will be drafted by a professional sports team and thereby significantly improve their economic situation. Counseling professionals must intervene and assist these student-athletes to better assess their career options.

Adjustment to the college/university environment poses probably one of the greatest threats to the academic and athletic success of African American student-athletes. A sense of social isolation is a common complaint among African American student-athletes (Lunneborg & Lunneborg, 1986). For many of these students, their arrival on college campuses may be their first exposure to a culturally diverse or predominantly white population. In many instances, the African American student-athlete is part of a very small minority within a vast array of cultural differences. There are few, if any, African American administrators, faculty, staff, students, or other positive role models to support or interact with these students. Many African American student-athletes perceive insensitive attitudes and unfair grading among faculty (Edmunds, 1984). In addition, the community in which the college or university is located may not include a significant number of minorities and may be less than receptive to the issues and concerns of African Americans. These factors may combine to cause psychological distress and frustration for young African American student-athletes.

Clearly some of the differences seen in African American student-athletes may be attributed to experiences encountered in an oppressive environment rather than to culture alone (Jones, 1982; Sue, 1981). Individuals usually acquire confidence based on previous life experiences. Hence, academic advisors and other counseling professionals must carefully examine the history of African Americans within the U.S. in order to gain a better understanding of the social milieu in which African American student-athletes' identities and behaviors originate and also of the relationship between these factors and academic progress.

Implications

Academic advisors and other counseling professionals differing most culturally from African American student-athletes generally encounter more difficulty communicating empathy, congruence, respect, and acceptance than do advisors sharing or understanding these students' cultural background. Therefore, advisors have a responsibility to identify and understand the barriers that affect the academic performance of African American student-athletes. For professionals to facilitate the success of such students, an awareness of these barriers is essential. Implications related to counseling, training, research, program development, and policy are discussed below.

Counseling

African American student-athletes need to be treated as individuals, to express their feelings, to receive empathic responses to problems, to be judged fairly, and to have their secrets kept confidential. Regardless how much power or formal authority is bestowed upon academic advisors and other counseling professionals, usable power and authority are granted by student-

athletes. The authoritative role of the academic advisors and other counseling professionals need not be synonymous with domination. The respect African American student-athletes possess for their advisors will be determined by how successful advisors are in assisting these student-athletes achieve academic success. Therefore, it is more important for advisors and other counseling professionals to be aware of African American student-athletes' needs than to be an expert in traditional counseling theories and techniques that have minimal cultural relevancy.

Training

Institutions of higher learning must establish and implement academic counseling and development programs that will train individuals to address the varying learning styles and needs of African American student-athletes. Modification and expansion in the curriculum should not only include the traditional courses in counseling and psychology, but also anthropology, history, sociology, political science, and other disciplines in regarding a given culture or group. Ideally, cross-cultural information related to these subjects should be infused in all courses. Faculty from culturally diverse backgrounds are needed in order to foster a richer educational environment.

Research

There are tremendous opportunities for academic advisors and educators to collaborate on issues related to African American student-athletes. An in-depth investigation of internal and external barriers, developmental problems, effects of support services, and cross-cultural training are only some of the areas that require analysis.

Program Development

The literature suggests that programs related to the academic development issues of African American student-athletes can have a significant impact on their academic and athletic success. Such program development and design of specifically targeted instructional materials will facilitate the success of this population on college campuses. Counseling and development professionals must carefully examine their role in designing academic support programs for all student-athletes.

Policy and Procedure

Advocacy for the educational success of African American student-athletes is a role that academic counseling professionals should be equipped to assume. Institutional, state, regional, national, and international policies are being established in order to foster the academic success of all student-athletes.

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Article

Revising Nigrescence Theory: Racial Identity Development Among Students Attending Historically Black Institutions

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Abstract: This article provides a critical analysis of W. E. Cross's theory of Nigrescence or black racial identity. Research was conducted on the theory to explore how African American students at historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) develop racial identity. Reputing some aspects of the theory, research findings showed that HBCUs provide positive rather than negative, heterogeneous rather than homogeneous, and spiral rather than linear opportunities for black racial identity formation. The need to develop a holistic model of racial identity formation is also discussed.

Ever since the birth of our nation, America has been schizophrenic with regard to issues of race and ethnicity. On the one hand espousing the republican principles of democratic freedom and the unalienable truth that all men are created equal, yet conversely, practicing the antithesis of these declarations.

Moreover, the existential muse has long sought for us to explore the difference between a human being, and a human that is always being; if there is one. The quest to transcend the age of "who am I" and move into the era of "who I am" has been debated among both the philosophers and theorists of antiquity and postmodernity. In fact, throughout the two hundred-plus year struggle, academe has attempted to bring intellectual enlightenment to the darkened and dogmatic thinking of the American citizenry. Contributing to the discussion of race and identity in society is the scholarship of William E. Cross, Jr., of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

Cross (1971a, 1971b) offers a theory of the stages of Nigrescence or black identity development, which is entitled "the Negro-to-Black Conversion Experience: Toward a Psychology of Black Liberation". In a five step model (pre-encounter, encounter, immersion-emersion, internalization, and internalization-commitment), Cross (1978) attempts "to depict the various stages Black Americans have traversed in seeking a more authentic identity" (p. 13). Consequently resolving that Nigrescence is the "process of becoming Black" (Cross, 1971a, 1971b, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1994).

Cross's Nigrescence Model

Racial identity theory deals with the processes by which individuals do and/or do not establish identities allegedly ascribed to their collective racial group (Kitano, 1974; Tatum, 1992). Cross's (1971a, 1971b) Nigrescence model attempts to identify the varied stages of this development. The first stage in the process is pre-encounter. During the pre-encounter stage the "Negro" (as denoted in the author's text) has an external self-definition of who s/he is. The individual's knowledge base is attributable to an outside source, i.e., the European ethic. Moreover, the individual is said to have a poor conceptualization of their own history, and how it would invariably fit into the constructs of the society (i.e., the belief that there is one race -- Caucasian -- responsible for all of the progress of history, before whom all other races -- African Americans -- must bow in submission).

The second stage is that of encounter. It is here that Cross's "Negro" becomes confused and ambivalent about current racial definitions. The individual has "some experience that manages to slip by or even shatters the person's current feeling about himself and his interpretation of the condition of the Negro in America" (Cross, 1971a, p. 101). There is also extensive inquiry into the constructive typology and/or semiotics of the notion of "black and white"-ness (Black power, Black history, etc.), and the individual's positioning in a world view (e.g., rich and poor, oppressed and oppressor).

During the third or immersion-emersion stage "the person immerses himself in the world of Blackness.... The White world, White culture, and White person are dehumanized (honky, pig, White devil) and become *biologically* inferior, as the Black person and the Black world are *deified*" (Cross, 1971a, p. 102). In addition to the inwardness (withdrawal from the European ethic) of this stage, it is important to note the transition from the self identification Negro-to-Black. This name change is symbolic of the migration towards a "Black life style" (Cross, 1971a, 1971b, 1978, 1980).

Cross's latter two stages are the most complex. The fourth stage, internalization, is where the new "Black" comes to terms with a positive racial-group commitment and internally defined racial attributes. While there is little detailed discussion of what occurs here, it is stated that there is an increase in inner security. During this stage there is a rise in "receptivity" to Black progressive "plans of action" (Cross, 1971a, 1971b).

The last stage is internalization-commitment. It is here that the individual demonstrates the capacity to empathize with other societally oppressed groups. There is also increased recognition of oppression and the need to stand against it. This stage presents a Black who is "actively involved in trying to change the community" (Cross, 1971a, p. 107). As a result, there is a genuine and valiant thrust towards "Black liberation" (Cross, 1971a, 1971b, 1978, 1979, 1980).

History and Psychological Nigrescence

When investigating the critical import of how and why things are as they are, it becomes increasingly important to investigate the situation out of which they arose. As informed persons who bear the responsibility of researching the relationship between students (particularly, African American students) and postsecondary education, we are obligated to approach Cross's theory of psychological Nigrescence with a critical eye and an expanded level of consciousness.

How an individual interprets phenomena, and the schema which s/he uses to explain societal crises, are the result of the environment and era in which their metacognitive processes are born. William Cross is no exception. It is important to note that he "came into being" during what is defined as "the Black revolution" (Katz, 1971, p. 509).

The Black revolution captures the spirits of Martin King, Malcolm X, Kenneth Clark, the Black Panthers, sprawling ghettos, Vietnam, Shirley Chisolm, Julian Bond, and the civil and human rights struggle (Katz, 1971). It is during the apex of these events that Cross begins to conceptualize the need for a psychological exploration of Black liberation. And later as "a graduate student in the Psychology Department at Princeton University" in the early 1970s, that Cross posits "the Negro-to-Black Conversion Experience" (Cross, 1971b , p. 21). He cites the need to establish a "black psychology, ... [that] would evolve from an understanding of the behavior of human beings within the context of Black America, i.e., the psycho-social economic and cultural setting of Black communities" (Cross, 1971b, p. 13).

Cross is not alone in his desire to establish "black liberation". During this same era many other academics and groups attempted to capture the process of self-actualization in the "Negro". Most noticeable are the nationalist organizations and Black Muslims that Cross (1971a, 1971b, 1978b, 1980, 1994) mentions in stage three -- immersion-emersion -- of his model.

Also noteworthy is that Cross's Nigrescence model was not written to discuss the critical mass of African Americans. Cross's (1971a) model is written to explore the experiences of the "Black intelligentsia" (p. 110), the "Black scholar" (p. 106), the "Black vanguard" (p. 97), the Negro intellectual, nay the "talented tenth". The notion of a psychology of liberation is a call to arms for African American leadership after the multiple assassinations (King, X, et al.) of the 1960s. Stage five, internalization-commitment, promotes active involvement and leadership in the community and towards social change, not a self-actualization of identity. Consequently, Cross's theory is more sociopolitical than social psychological.

Critical Commentary on Psychological Nigrescence

The Nigrescence model assumes that Black/African self identity is actualized through personal thoughts, feelings, and behaviors that are rooted in the values and fabric of Black/African culture itself. Cross's theory is therefore rooted in the notion of dissonance. A dissonance that exists when one's racial identity is more Eurocentric than Afrocentric, because it allegedly violates the natural core of that person's African makeup. In the tautological extensions of his theory,

Cross fails to 1) empirically utilize non-African American norms as a form of comparison (Note: reliability and validity), 2) account for variance within the African American community, and 3) resist the stereotyping of African Americans into a homogeneous group that is under a barrage of deleterious and "negative" encounters.

Lack of empiricism

There is a void of empirical studies utilizing Cross's Nigrescence model. The one significant (not necessarily statistical) study which appears in the literature, Cross (1979) conducted in the spring of 1972. And even the methodology and sample of this study are dubious. The study explores the "militancy" (not racial identity development) of sixty African American, upperclassmen and graduate, coed students at two Ivy League universities. Using survey and interview procedures, Cross attempts to predict the trend of militancy in students majoring and minoring in Afro-American Studies over time. Cross does advanced statistical inquiry (most of it unnecessary) into the simplistic question of African American student involvement in the "Black Power Movement" (p. 123). The research project never investigates the theory of multistage racial identity development.

Failure to identify within group variance

Additionally, in the Nigrescence model, Cross fails to view the black community as a highly diversified set of interrelated structures and aggregates of people who are held together only semiotically by the need for external definition. The term community is merely a sociological axiom which attempts to describe the varying degrees of in-group solidarity with respect to the totality of society.

The American culture consists of a broad and interwoven set of subcultures, and the idea of community exalts particular subcultures, suggesting that there are reasons to value specially their pseudo-collective political and aesthetic visions. There are not cultural differences in America. America is a "culture of difference". The trouble is that community is not the same as culture, and there is no way of predicting whether a particular African American person will adopt any particular cultural stance. The African American community is a heterogeneous, American community (as evidenced in diversity of economic life, occupational pursuits, earned income, varied aspirations, successes, and failures), not a "Black" (as defined by Cross) one.

Cross's psychology of liberation epitomizes the divisive doctrine of shibboleth. He for some reason supposes that biology implies ideology. As a result, Cross makes a categorical mistake by allowing his theory to make race a proxy for views. Does not philosophy muse upon the dialectic "To label me, is to negate me"? The philosopher Anthony Appiah (1986) puts it this way:

> Talk of "race" is particularly distressing for those of us who take culture seriously. For, where race works -- in places where "gross differences" of morphology are

> correlated with "subtle differences" of temperament, belief, and intention -- it works as an attempt at a metonym for culture; and it does so only at the price of biologizing what is culture (p. 21).

Pessimistic predisposition

Moreover, Cross's (1978, 1979, 1980, 1994) continual interjection of the notion of "psychological metamorphosis" is connotative and not denotative. Metamorphosis, like Erikson's epigenesis, suggests a developmental transformation that is inherent in the growth of an organism. Granted a caterpillar metamorphosizes into a butterfly, but a Negro does not metamorphosize, or necessarily transform, into a psychologically liberated, progressive, and militant Black.

Cross posits that after undergoing one or more negative "encounters", the African American begins to challenge non-Black world orientations. It is important to understand that "negative experiences" themselves are not the only important influencers of the psychosocial metamorphosis experienced by African Americans. More recent contributions to the Nigrescence theory (Akbar, 1989) discuss the manner in which positive experiences within the context of African American culture (e.g., family, school, community) can serve to instigate the identity changes. Research further suggests that the historically black college serves as a positive experience in the lives of many African American students (Akbar, 1989; Allen, 1991; Astin, 1982; Edmonds, 1984; Fleming, 1984; Garibaldi, 1984; Hytche, 1989; Jones, 1971; Stikes, 1984; Thomas, 1981).

The Historically Black College as a Positive Encounter

It is undisputed that historically black universities have been the primary educators of African Americans. There have been many questions raised regarding the strengths of the historically black university. One such question is "Does the historically black college provide a supportive social climate that fosters student satisfaction and achievement?". Chickering (1981) and Weathersby (1981) found that the college experience has the potential to facilitate and stimulate the development of the student; any sudden changes in the environment may mean a change in the individual. Therefore, it is important to note, as did Fleming (1984), that there is such a thing as an identity that must be "found" or "resolved" in the best of all worlds. However, developmental theorists have yet to determine how to isolate it and/or study it within the context of the historically black college experience.

According to Sanford (1967), "If the development of the individual as a whole is the primary aim, then colleges should organize all their resources in efforts to achieve it. Such planning of a total educational environment must be guided by a theory of personality -- a theory in the terms of which it is possible to state specific goals for the individual, describe the interrelations of his various psychological processes, and understand the ways in which he changes under the impact of environmental influences" (p. xv).

In an attempt to expound on the mission and goals of the predominantly African American college, Roebuck and Murty (1993) state "HBCUs, unlike other colleges, are united in a mission to meet the educational and emotional needs of black students. They remain the significant academic home for black faculty members and many black students. The goals described in black college catalogs, unlike those of white schools, stress preparation for student leadership and service roles in the community" (p. 10). Lamont (1979), in *Campus Shock*, goes on to say that for many African American students the historically black institution is "culturally more congenial" than the traditionally mainstream university (p. 32).

Methodology

The purpose of this research is to explore racial identity development in African American students attending historically black colleges or universities according to Cross's theory of "Nigrescence". Areas of focus include collegiate expectations, phenomenon, and "effects". The rationale is based on studying African American development under optimal conditions.

Sample

The sample included 10 respondents (4 males and 6 females) from a population of approximately 13,000 students at two historically black universities. The sample consisted of 5 first year students and 5 upperclassmen students that were selected by randomization. The racial composition of the sample was 100 percent African American.

In the study were traditional age students from two comprehensive state universities (from the southeast and middle south), both with enrollments of approximately 6,500 students. The institutions were selected because of their similarities in student population, institutional mission, geographic location within the state, administrative structure, and programs offered through the student services/affairs division.

Instrumentation: Interview Protocol

The instrument, developed by Terenzini (1994), is an interview protocol of 15 items which asks students to discuss their educational experiences at their collegiate institution. The interviewer records the information given, often probing for additional detail. The instrument focuses on precollege information, expectations and reality, significant people/events, collegiate transition, and overall institutional effects.

Procedures

In the early fall of 1994, the researcher sought participation from two historically black universities in two southern states, giving attention to the possibility of completing the interviews

in the same semester. Administrators in both institutions agreed to participate and allowed the researcher to select from students who randomly entered the campus English computer laboratories. The reason for this location was that English assignments were required of both first year and upperclassmen students. This location provided an opportunity for a cross-section of males and females from all classifications in both student bodies.

The researcher administered the interviews in the month of October. Students answered according to the instructions, giving their age and classification but no names. Students were numbered in the order of their interview. As a result of the closing time of the laboratories, one interview was conducted outside of the English department computer laboratory.

Analysis and Findings

Table 1 presents the pseudonyms, gender, ages, and classification of each of the students involved in the study. Although each student came from different experiences, there were several common themes evident among the sample, as well as freshman and upperclassmen subgroups.

Table 1

Students' Pseudonyms and Demographic Information

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Classification
Anastasia	female	19	Transfer
Brittany	female	21	Junior
Caroline	female	20	Senior
Dexter	male	22	Senior
Ethan	male	22	Senior
Vivian	female	18	Freshman
Winston	male	19	Freshman
Xavier	female	18	Freshman
Yvonne	female	18	Freshman
Zachary	male	18	Freshman

Precollege Information

The majority of the freshmen students stated that their reason for attending college was to get a good job. Xavier, however, cited personal family reasons.[1] While Vivian mentioned the need for a good job, she also aired upperclassmen notions of the importance of higher education.[2] Anastasia captured the upperclassmen responses when she said, "I wanted to better myself and become more prepared for the future." Dexter discussed collegiate growth in terms of the "development of the 'whole' individual."

Expectation and Reality

The entire sample expressed that they chose their institution either because it was historically black, affordable, and/or because of familial influence or alumni recruitment. However, when asked what they expected to find after matriculation the answers varied from discussion of academic programs to the freshmen talent show. Notwithstanding, the hidden expectation of a large institutional setting with lots of people and activities pervaded the discourse from both first year and upperclassmen students. The first year students had no response to whether or not these expectations had been met. The juniors and seniors had mixed opinions about the delivery of expectations.

Significant People/Events

One hundred percent of the sample responded that their parent/s were the most important people in their lives. Only two students could identify individuals at the institution important to them. However, when asked about significant experiences since enrolling in the institution 60 percent of the freshmen mentioned shaking hands with the president. The entire upperclassmen sample cited involvement in extracurricular activities as the source of important experiences. Without significant exception, neither group could identify important experiences outside of the campus.[3]

Interesting differences also appeared in the student responses to changes in peer affiliation. Although the freshmen noted no changes in their campus peer group, they all mentioned that they knew their current friends prior to matriculation. Zachary knew individuals from his hometown, Yvonne's sister attended the institution, and others mentioned freshmen orientation. None of the first year students acknowledged a loss of high school classmates. Upperclassmen not only discussed a loss of high school friends, but becoming more cautious about the selection of friends. Brittany mentioned that her friends have become more "secular", noting a departure from the religious indoctrination of her youth.

Also noteworthy are the subgroup responses to where and how they met faculty. One hundred percent of the first year students cited the Freshmen Dinner-Dance as the place they became connected with professors. Upperclassmen, only three to four years above the freshmen, stated that they began to affiliate with faculty as a result of classroom or on-campus academic

functions. One senior, Dexter, said that he encountered faculty in the classroom, but also recalled his experience at the Freshmen Dinner-Dance.

The Transition

Significant patterns emerged in the discussion of student transitions in the institution. Sixty percent of the freshmen had no response to how (if at all) they felt connected to the institution. The 40 percent of first year students that felt involved and/or comfortable attributed it to significant persons at the institution with whom they had precollege relationships. Sixty percent of the upperclassmen felt involved because of their roles as student leaders. The other 40 percent were comfortable as a result of peer interactions.

Furthermore, the entire sample felt that being an African American on a historically black college campus was a positive experience. Views about campus problems and campus adjustment were not uniform; only two themes emerged. First, 100 percent of the freshmen males stated that the adjustment to public showers and restrooms was the most difficult. Second, sixty percent of the entire sample discussed adjustment to time management, academic work-load, and "keeping up with campus events."

With regard to problems in adjustment, two upperclassmen students responded that they had experienced the betrayal of a friend.

Caroline: "The most difficult problem I had to face was having a roommate steal from me."

Dexter: "The most difficult problem I have faced here -- at least the one that stands out at this instant -- is having a friend betray me because of a rumor."

General "Effects"

Ninety percent of the entire sample felt that "real learning" took place outside of the classroom. Zachary, the only dissenter, facetiously responded, "In my biology class with Dr. G_____." Zachary's statement may be more a comment on the level of work required in a particular course, than a thoughtful response about the nature of learning in academe. Similarly, the sample concurred that they had changed most in study habits, independence, and personality growth since enrolling at the institution. Their responses are not detailed enough to know if these changes are the result of the collegiate experience or natural maturation (i.e., direct versus indirect results).

When asked what changes they would make if they ran the university the freshmen consistently proffered self-centered answers. The answers had more to due with elevating the status of freshmen (e.g., allowing freshmen to have cars, allowing freshmen to have inter-dorm visitation) than institutional change. Two first year students had significantly different answers.

Yvonne: "As the first female president at this school, I would be more vocal to black women here; telling them that they can also reach the top. Our president does not do this."

Xavier: "I would open a nursery so my son could be here with me."

All of the upperclassmen discussed improving campus interactions.

The entire sample stated that the historically black college environment, quality of the academic program, and/or their family legacy is what makes their campus a special place.

Bittany: "This is a place where young black minds get together and achieve endeavors that society thinks they cannot."

Ethan: "It's predominantly black and an outstanding university. It's a hidden jewel."

Yvonne: "My mother graduated from here. My sister and I will also someday graduate from S_____."

When asked to make additional comments about student life at the institution freshmen were not as enthusiastic about their experience or commitment to the academic and social role of the institution, as were upperclassmen.

Zachary: "It's not bad."

Winston: "So far, I have not had any major problems. So it's cool."

Brittany: "As a junior, I've learned each day that S_____ has been a stepping stone to academic excellence."

Dexter: "It's great to be a senior, but it's somewhat sad to think I will be leaving those who have touched my life in so many ways."

Ethan: "S_____ is my second home."

Revising Nigrescence Theory

Social psychology posits that our self-thoughts/concepts are a function of personality and environmental phenomenon, i.e., ST/C=f (P x EP). Therefore, any identity development model should be paradigmatic and phenomenological.

Inter-stage divisions appear minimally, if at all, in Cross's theoretical model. There are at least three possibilities for any form of long term identity development. (1) Stagnation, in which identity and/or attitudes remain constant and fixed. (2) Linear development, which suggests a stage-like lock-step progression through identified levels. (3) Recycling, which represents the

ability to have continued movement across levels of development throughout the lifespan. The addition of stagnation and recycling would drastically improve the applicability of Cross's model.

Inasmuch as Cross does not apply his linearity to the lifespan, it is possible to undergo the "conversion" at any point. It stands to reason that an individual can self-select an encounter, and consequently, immerse themselves in the critical study and investigation of cultural history. Cross, however, fails to mention such a possibility. In fact, all development takes place at the structural and social levels. The topic of self-talk, intrapsychicism, and metacognition do not seem critical to his limited view of the racial identity development vista.

As previously established, Cross's Nigrescence theory is rooted in the assertion that an individual must undergo a negative encounter in order to begin racial identity change and development. The above cross-sectional research demonstrates that a positive encounter, in this case the historically black university, can trigger identity development and/or individual growth. The predominantly African American university, heretofore given scant attention in racial identity research, is an important factor in the revision and expansion of Nigrescence theory.

Discussion of transition between stages appears minimally, if at all, in Cross's theoretical model. Linear development theories suggest that there is a stage-like lock-step progression through identified levels of development. Recycling theories, however, offer the individual the ability to have continued movement across levels of development throughout the lifespan. The notion of recycling would drastically improve the applicability of Cross's model.

Inasmuch as it is possible to undergo change or "conversion" at any point, unlike in the Cross model, an individual can self-select a positive encounter, and consequently, immerse themselves in the critical study and investigation of cultural history. In lieu of Cross's stages, one could employ simplistic descriptions of the transformation through the terms preexposure, exposure and rebirth.

Preexposure

Preexposure is equivalent to Cross's pre-encounter stage. The individual has no clear conceptions of racial differences. At worst, the individual defines race through the subjugation by others exerting authority over their lives. African Americans on this end of the continuum often denigrate their own culture, dismiss the significance of their own heritage, and adopt a posture of admiration or envy for those things in the European world view. Don't forget Brittany's comment about 'Black minds coming together to achieve what society considered impossible.'

Exposure

Cross posits that the way to change or "conversion" is through subjecting individuals to a series of negatively charged racial experiences. New research and the current sample, however,

indicate that exposure to positive encounters can have equal, if not greater effect than negative experiences which can lead to identity development stagnation. Exposure is the act of subjecting an individual to significant outside influence/s. As a result, exposure does not have negative and positive value, but high and low significance.

Rebirth

As a consequence of an encounter, Cross's individual is thrust into ethnic cultural immersion, begins to embrace a dogmatic African American ethos, and finally becomes proactive about issues of race. Rebirth, however, is the process of altering character, nature, or condition. It allows African Americans to find cultural comfort zones until such time as there is another significant exposure (see William Perry, 1970). Cultural comfort zones may range from liberal inclusion of all cultural involvement to indifference about issues of race and culture.

It is possible (tabula rasa) that a person's initial thoughts about society are not complex thoughts at all. William Perry (1970) would call them dualistic thoughts. It is not until we are exposed to some external view, that we reinterpret how and why our perspectives and perceptions on the same exist. Next, we are born anew, through assimilation, accommodation, and/or stagnation. And as no physical life stages or chronological time frame are involved, one can cyclically be reborn over and over again.

We cannot summarily dismiss Cross's Nigrescence theory of black liberation. However, as we react to the theory, debate the model, and study the outcomes of the "Negro-to-Black Conversion Experience", we encounter at every turn more questions and fewer answers. Although Cross (1994) now admits:

> I have made it all too pat, which is the problem of any summary of inherently complex and nuanced "things." Not everyone moves "forward." People regress, they become "stuck" in transition -- consumed by hatred -- they become disillusioned, or may spin off into still another cause and another identity "conversion." Or, they become entrapped in the everyday dysfunctionalities and private demons that haunt us all, from time to time (pp. 122-123),

he still clings to assumption that an individual must progress through the complete series of sequential and hierarchical stages.

Conclusion

Within the context of student development research, these revisions to African American racial identity theory remind us that one must exercise caution when attributing an item of significance to one possible outlet (in this case, negative encounters), and using it to make homogenizing conclusions about that group. Higher education must examine the historically black university as a positive affect on the development of African American students.

As informed persons who bear the responsibility of studying factors contributing to African American identity development, higher education research must begin to investigate issues of intra-racial differences regarding awareness, image, self-identification language, and ideology. Moreover, continued investigation into personal identity will be important as we attempt to construct a holistic model of human ethnic identity development.

At any rate, the historically black university is a positive encounter, which exposes African American students to increased opportunities for identity growth and development.

Footnotes

[1] Xavier is an unwed teenage mother. The need to prepare a future for herself and her son appears as a major theme in her responses.

[2] Like Xavier, a number of Vivian's responses differ from her freshmen peers. Vivian's advanced commentary may be because she is an honor student with extremely focused career goals.

[3] The failure to identify important external experiences may bespeak the rural location of both institutions.

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Position Paper

Intelligence, Race and Social Policy, A Response to *THE BELL CURVE*

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Position Paper: *This paper was accepted by the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Black Conference on Higher Education, Inc. (PBCOHE) on November 8, 1996. It represents the official position of PBCOHE regarding Herrnstein and Murray's The Bell Curve. PBCOHE unequivocally denounces Herrnstein and Murray's major premise that racial differences in intelligence make social policies aimed at correcting past socio-economic inequities at best, futile and, at worst, unjust. Copies of this report and addendums to the report, which do not appear here, may be obtained from Mr. John S. Shropshire, Immediate Past President of PBCOHE, Inc., Clarion University of Pennsylvania, Clarion, PA 16214, (814) 226-2306.*

The Bell Curve, co-authored by Charles Murray and the late Richard Herrnstein, resurrects the thesis that whites as a group are innately more intelligent than blacks. Like their hereditarian predecessors, they attribute the economic and social differences that exist between races and classes in America to this alleged intelligence gap. From such a point of view, historical social injustices, such as racial discrimination and enslavement, are claimed falsely to be the causes of present day economic and social differences between the races. According to Murray and Herrnstein, what follows is that well-meaning, egalitarian, social policies are futile, at best, and, at worst, unjust as a means to correct such socio-economic inequalities, largely consequences of innate differences in intelligence. "Governmental intervention to diminish individual differences collides head-on with a half century of IQ data indicating that differences in intelligence are intractable and significantly heritable, and the average IQ of various socioeconomic and ethnic groups differs" (TBC 9). Rather, according to *The Bell Curve*, the correct society is one that accommodates itself to the existence of cognitive differences and endeavors to make its citizens, regardless of their rank, fit comfortably within a society so stratified (527-552).

The purpose of this paper is to examine and contest the evidence and arguments against egalitarianism presented in *The Bell Curve*. The discussion is divided among three overlapping matters with respect to the handling of the IQ gap in *The Bell Curve*. The first section reflects upon the suitability of the model of scientific explanation chosen by the authors. The second and longest section considers the main tenets of that explanation. The third section focuses upon the social significance the book attributes to the IQ gap. The paper will inquire into the proferred scientific foundation for *The Bell Curve* with respect to its account of the IQ gap, and into the weightiness of the pragmatic benefits to society which it maintains are, or would be, yielded by IQ

and other intelligence tests. The latter issue cannot be avoided since a pragmatic or utilitarian rationale for employing intelligence testing in the formulation of public policy could be disassociated from the biological determinism characteristic of hereditarianism. One simply could hold that the many correlations documented in *The Bell Curve* between social problems and low IQ, or, conversely, between success and high IQ, provide a strong circumstantial case in favor of the view of society advanced by it, irrespective of the truth of its scientific tenets concerning human intelligence. Consequently, one committed to the defeat of Murray's and Herrnstein's social agenda of cognitive stratification, as I am, must attend to both permutations of their rationale for it.

I. The Model of Explanation

The Bell Curve is committed to placing intelligence measures such as IQ at the center of public policy decisions. "What good can come of understanding the relationship of intelligence to social structure and public policy? Little good can come without it" (xxiii). In a similar view, Murray and Herrnstein allude early in *The Bell Curve* to a 1969 article of Arthur Jensen's that appeared in the *Harvard Educational Review* as putting "a match to this volatile mix of science and ideology" (p. 9). Jensen maintained in that article that compensatory and remedial education programs were destined to fail because they were "aimed at youngsters with relatively low IQs ... who were disproportionately black and that blacks as a population had exhibited average IQs substantially below those of whites" (p. 9). The authors promise to provide the American public policy debate with proofs for human differences and the consequences that flow from those differences. What they purport to show in particular is that for a wide range of intractable social problems, the *decisive* correlation is between a high incidence of the problem and the low intelligence of those who suffer from it. Their data is intended to suggest this holds for school dropouts, unemployment, work-related injury, out of wedlock births, crime and many other social problems (pp. 137-251). Murray and Herrnstein do not maintain that the connection between low IQ and these problems is limited exclusively to blacks and the lower class. Rather they say the proportion of such problems is higher among their groups because their average IQs are lower. Based upon public reaction to Murray's and Herrnstein's best seller, it is evident that Jensen's attempt to use science to promote hereditarian tenets with respect to intelligence and race has been rekindled by them.

The Bell Curve's brew of science and social policy raises immediate suspicions about whether the line between science and political ideology has been blurred if not altogether eliminated. There is considerable interest among current philosophers of science about whether models of scientific explanation are inherently ideological, and in the ramifications of such ideological commitments. In *Science as Social Knowledge*, Helen Longino devotes much of her attention to these matters. Her worry is that scientific models of explanation laden with unquestioned ideological commitments are assumed to be reasonably objective when that is not really so. To establish this point she attempts to show what ideological commitments the dominant model of scientific explanation, namely the linear model in her opinion, entails. She focuses upon studies that purport to show a linear relationship between certain gender-typed behaviors exhibited by humans (ones typically characterized as masculine or feminine) as a consequence of prenatal or perinatal exposure to gonadal hormones. In her view this process is linear because it supposes that

a certain outcome, O_1 (say certain feminine tendencies in an individual's behavior), is the straightforward outcome of a unidirectional irreversible sequence of (biochemical) events (say relatively low gonadal exposure to androgen during that individual's prenatal or perinatal stage) (p. 135). The ideological commitment involved here, according to Longino, is that linear models of explanation typically treat behavior as sex-differentiated and biologically determined. The consequence of such an account as she perceives it is that obstacles to equality between the sexes attributable to differences in behavior which might be considered the result of socialization, and thus socially eradicable, will be seen instead as biologically necessary, and thus ineradicable. As she sees it, the hormonal theorists do not provide an explicit theory of how the brain works but seem content to limit their interest in the brain to a search for its hormone receptors. "The hormonal theorists treat the brain very much as a black box" (p. 143).

Longino's sets forth an interactionist or selectionist model of explanation in her book as an alternative to the linear model. She extrapolates this model from the work done by Vernon Mountcastle on brain structure and Gerald Edelman on brain function (p. 144). Edelman, according to her, suggests two forms of connectivity -- intrinsic and extrinsic -- within this structure (p. 144). Initially the brain's neuronal groups are weakly interconnected, but through a process of selection driven by mental function more stable interconnections are established called repertoires -- primary and secondary (p. 145). The key to this theory is that secondary repertoire is hypothesized to be in constant formation and reformation in response to experience (p. 145). If so, this means that the functioning and structure of the brain itself is altered by interaction with the environment.

Hereditarians, like linear hormonalists, treat the brain as a black box. Their focus is to explain how particular IQs are the fixed result of biology, rather than to explore the brain's potentialities as a complex organism. (Ironically, even the long discredited efforts to demonstrate the superiority of white intelligence over black intelligence by comparative craniometry and brain size studies showed more interest in the brain itself.) In other words, a linear approach will treat one's behavioral or cognitive traits as biologically determined. From such a perspective the task of the physiological and neurosciences becomes the identification of the biological phenomena that respectively determine human behavior or intelligence. Murray and Herrnstein assert that this is precisely the task that the classical tradition of psychometrics with which they identify is committed (p. 23). By contrast, according to Longino, an interactionist model of the brain is aimed at the broader question: "What sort of structure and functioning must characterize a brain capable of long- and short-term memory, learning, self-awareness, creativity, and mediation of action and experience?" (p. 147). Given the infinite variety of ways in which individuals and their experiences differ within and between races, the interactionist model of explanation would seem more robust. Such an approach does not dismiss the role of biology as *The Bell Curve* misleadingly suggests (p. 8). However, it does not treat biology as destiny either with respect to human behavioral or intellectual development.

Longino also is concerned with the second way in which *The Bell Curve* mixes science and ideology, namely, the blatant use of science to sustain or bring about a preferred course of inequitable social arrangements. Helen Lambert addresses this more straightforwardly in her article, "Biology and Equality: A Perspective on Sex Differences." From Lambert's perspective,

the entire enterprise of justifying or tolerating differences depending upon whether they are biologically or socially engendered is without merit. For her it is primarily a political matter what social differences among its members a society chooses to allow. She acknowledges that biologically caused inequalities may require different interventions than socially caused ones. But she does not regard that kind of difference as an insurmountable barrier in itself for correcting undesirable social inequalities.

In sum, *The Bell Curve's* model of explanation implicates admixtures of science and ideology toward which Longino and Lambert undoubtedly would be skeptical. It is not merely that Murray's and Herrnstein's concoction of science and ideology is volatile. It is blatantly political. And, in this instance, the simplified model of scientific explanation they have chosen appears to better facilitate the promulgation of their social vision than would a more complicated interactionist view of human intelligence. It can be retorted, of course, that Longino may be motivated by an ideological commitment on her part to the equality of the sexes. While such an accusation may not be meritless, I am sympathetic to her belief that linear accounts make it more convenient to simplify as merely biologically determined the seemingly highly variable and complex elements characteristic of human behavior and intelligence. That is not to say that one's suspicion that Murray and Herrnstein may be proceeding in a disingenuous manner negates the position that intelligence is biologically determined in major ways. However, it is difficult to avoid the impression that these authors' methods are result oriented, and thus may lack the objectivity required to sustain their claim that their account of the IQ gap is scientifically vindicated. Let us now turn to that account.

II. Hereditarianism and the Scientific Significance of IQ

The attempt to redefine the problem of racial inequality in America as an inevitable consequence of innate biological differences is certainly not novel. Nonetheless, to draw such a conclusion based upon IQ results, and to develop a sound scientific argument that intellectual ability is in whole or part related to race, first would require the determination of exactly what IQ tests measure. That is to say, what these tests measure may not be indicative or exhaustive of what defines or comprises intelligence. Second, it also needs to be shown that intelligence is innate and wholly determined. Third, an adequate account of how "race" is defined must be set forth in order to conclude that racial group membership is a critical parameter of human potentialities and limitations. Even if Murray and Herrnstein were able to show that their hereditarian type responses to these questions are vindicated scientifically, they still would need to demonstrate that a social policy agenda that abandons a concern for equal opportunity should follow. On the other hand, Murray's and Herrnstein's failure to make their scientific case successfully would seem to count against the anti-egalitarianism of their book given the fact that historical racial injustice *is* beyond dispute, and is a very plausible alternative explanation.

Thomas Sowell astutely observed that "few things are discussed as unintelligently as intelligence . . . seldom do those who talk -- or shout -- about this subject bother to define their terms" (p. 50). So much is made of correlations between intelligence and race in *The Bell Curve*. Yet, remarkably, these key terms are never really defined in the book, surely a burden the authors

carry. About the meaning of "intelligence" we are told that "IQ scores match, to a first degree, whatever it is that people mean when they use the word *intelligent* or *smart* in ordinary language" (p. 22). This is hardly a definition. With respect to the meaning of "race" Murray and Herrnstein ruminate that ". . . race is such a difficult concept to employ in the American context. What does it mean to be "black" in America, in racial terms, when the word black (or African American) can be used for people whose ancestry is more European than African? . . . *The rule we follow here is to classify people according to the way they classify themselves* (Italics added, p. 271). Such a rule hardly can be called a definition. In any case, the innatist position on intelligence taken by *The Bell Curve* would seem to require a biologically relevant definition of race. A crude and inadequate attempt to provide one appears several pages later. "We may call them "ethnic groups" instead of races if we wish -- we too are more comfortable with *ethnic*, because of the blurred lines -- *but some ethnic groups nonetheless differ genetically for sure, otherwise they would not have differing skin colors or hair textures or muscle mass*" (Italics added, p. 297). The primitiveness of this attempted reformulation speaks for itself.

The current literature on the meaning of "race" is exhaustive. Many of these texts question whether race is any longer definable as a biological concept, suggesting instead that it is simply a social construct. In his essay entitled "On the Nonexistence of Human Races," Frank Livingstone makes reference to the maxim "Yesterday's science is today's common sense and tomorrow's nonsense." He does so to make the point that "for the concept of race . . . tomorrow is here" (p. 141). This strikes one as an apt reply to the second meaning that Murray and Herrnstein attempt to assign to race. The omission or inadequacy of the definitions of the key terms of this discussion is serious enough to condemn the authors' effort from the outset. As Sowell implies, how is anyone to weigh the significance of claims made throughout the book about "intelligence" or "race" when their meanings are unknown? Nonetheless, the attention that *The Bell Curve* has received, deserved or not, still demands that those concerned about social justice probe its pages further for any grounds for its pronouncement that social differences between the races are intelligence-based.

As stated in the previous section, Murray and Herrnstein explicitly associate themselves with what they label the "classical" school of psychometrics initiated by Charles Spearman (p. 22). According to them, this school is committed to the existence of an innate structure of intelligence, the components of which it seeks to identify "much as physicists seek to identify the structure of the atom" (p. 14). They readily acknowledge that their identification with the classical school "implies that we also accept certain conclusions undergirding that tradition" (p. 22). Murray and Herrnstein list six such conclusions of that school regarding tests of cognitive ability that they claim are beyond significant technical dispute and which they accept:

1. There is such a thing as a general factor of cognitive ability on which human beings differ.

2. All standardized tests of academic aptitude or achievement measure this general factor to some degree, but IQ tests expressly designed for that purpose measure it most accurately.

3. IQ scores match, to a first degree, whatever it is that people mean when they use the word *intelligent* or *smart* in ordinary language.

4. IQ scores are stable, although not perfectly so, over much of a person's life.

5. Properly administered IQ tests are not demonstrably biased against social, economic, ethnic, or racial groups.

6. Cognitive ability is substantially heritable, apparently no less than 40 percent and no more than 80 percent.

The controversial nature and gravity of these six contentions should be apparent from only a cursory reading of them. While Murray and Herrnstein indicate that they will deal with specific issues involving the six points, their book is not devoted directly to a defense of them. Rather, they advise their readers that "taking each point and amassing a full account of the evidence for and against, would lead us to write a book just about them. Such books have already been written. There is no point in our trying to duplicate them" (p. 23). This is an interesting maneuver on their part. Perhaps they believe that the weight of the many reported correlations in their book between IQ and success and failure can be interpreted only in the way that they do so. Alternatively, maybe they simply have nothing to add to the scientific underpinnings of the classical tradition upon which their view of intelligence depends. Surely, it hardly can be expected by Murray and Herrnstein that the reader should take only their word that these are settled matters of science. In a footnote to the immediately previous quotation they refer to Seligman's 1992 "highly readable summary of the major points . . . For those who are prepared to dig deeper, Jensen (1980) remains an authoritative statement on most of the basic issues despite the passage of time since it was published" (p. 666). (Arthur Jensen is acknowledged by the authors to be a stalwart of the hereditarian or classical school of intelligence (p. 9).) The importance of these associations for present purposes is to anticipate any objection that criticisms of the alleged scientific tenets of hereditarianism or the classical school are inapposite to the underlying assumptions made about intelligence and relied upon in *The Bell Curve*.

A premise that hereditarian views of intelligence consider crucial is that correlations can be made between performances on so-called intelligence tests and various indices of success, such as those presented in *The Bell Curve*. Murray and Herrnstein appeal to such a premise when they suggest in their book that since whites as a group perform approximately one standard deviation (fifteen points) higher than blacks as a group on IQ and other so-called intelligence tests (p. 276), it stands to reason that whites achieve better academically, and, as a consequence, economically and socially as well. A second standard premise of hereditarianism is that empirical data show a high positive correlation between the IQ's of a group and the IQ's of that group's offspring. "Cognitive ability is substantially heritable, apparently no less than forty percent and no more than eighty percent." (p. 23). (Murray and Herrnstein arbitrarily average this range to stipulate that heritability of IQ is sixty percent). The observation that IQ is substantially inherited is submitted as added proof that it is not amenable to the type of environmental intervention assumed possible by past and present social programs designed to promote a more egalitarian American society. In sum, Murray and Herrnstein hold, as their hereditarian predecessors did, that IQ is biologically determined in the sense that it is representative of a fixed and genetically based trait.

The stage has been set now for a more in-depth discussion of the meaning and basis of the classical school's claim that intelligence is innate and fixed, a view encompassed by at least four of

the conclusions (1, 2, 4 and 6) Murray and Herrnstein accept from the classical school. Charles Spearman's claim that innate general intelligence, g, is the underlying factor of all cognitive abilities is acknowledged by them as the bedrock of the classical tradition. In his 1904 paper entitled "General Intelligence Objectively Measured and Determined," he proclaimed that all cognitive abilities consist essentially of two factors, namely general intelligence, g, and some other factor(s) unique to that specific trait of intelligence, s (Gould, p. 287). For example, although verbal, mathematical, and spatial abilities each have a trait, s, unique to it, they also each share a common trait, g. For Spearman, g was the dominant factor of intelligence in that he believed *all* cognitive abilities tapped into g to some greater or lesser degree (p. 291).

Spearman initially relied upon Pearson's correlation coefficient which enables one to calculate mathematically how much two or more variables are related. His application of this mathematical concept to different tests of cognitive abilities led him to the observation that performances on such tests positively correlated, as did items on the test itself. That is, if one was to do well on one test of cognitive ability, one also probably would do well on other tests of cognitive ability; and one probably would answer related test items similarly wrong or right (p. 3). Although he considered this to be significant, Spearman still felt he needed to account for the varying magnitudes of those correlations. It is this question that hereditarians believe occasioned his theoretical breakthrough, the invention of factor analysis. "Factor analysis is a mathematical technique for reducing a complex system of correlations into fewer dimensions" (Gould, p. 275). He believed that it enabled him to identify the major features of a correlation matrix which he called its "principal components".

Spearman maintained that the application of his method always resulted in one principal component per correlation matrix of intelligence tests, g. He defined this first principal component as a grand average of all tests in matrices of positive correlation coefficients (p. 327). He was moved so by what he believed was the significance of his statistical discovery that he was led to conclude that it, g, must have a biological cause. Spearman's inference from correlation to causality, that g is a fact of nature rather than a mere artifact of his statistical method is at the base of the controversy concerning the validity of the hereditarian/bio-determinist view of intelligence.

A comprehensive and devastating critique of the classical view of intelligence is provided by Stephen Jay Gould in his 1981 book, *Mismeasure of Man*. Gould's first criticism is that Spearman's g is compatible with two contradictory causal hypotheses: "it [g] reflects an inherited level of mental acuity . . . it records environmental advantages and deficits" (p. 282). The former hypothesis is a form of biological determinism, while the latter is a form of environmental determinism, hardly commensurable with hereditarianism. Spearman's mere appeal to correlations cannot rule out the latter troubling alternative for his school.

In the main, Gould's critique of the conceptual flaws of the classical school focuses upon two basic fallacies. "The misuse of mental tests is not inherent in the idea of testing itself. It arises primarily from two fallacies, eagerly (so it seems) embraced by those who wish to use tests for the maintenance of social ranks and distinctions: reification and hereditarianism" (p. 185). Let us first turn to the charge of reification that Gould makes against Spearman. "Factorists have often fallen prey to a temptation for *reification* -- for awarding *physical* meaning to all strong principal components" (p. 280). Although Gould acknowledges that the strength of the resolving power of

Spearman's first principal component may be regarded as nonaccidental, he quickly adds "we cannot infer the cause from the correlation, and the cause is certainly complex" (p. 282). That is because most correlations do not require nor have physical explanations, a lesson one learns from a basic course in inductive reasoning. For example, if one were to find a high positive correlation between one's age and the price of gasoline over a ten year period, it would not occur to one to assign a physical cause as the reason for the correlation (p. 272).

Even assuming that a correlation did have a physical source, that would have to be ascertained independently of the correlation itself. That is to say, that some confirming observation of such a physical reality would need to be made. For example, the linear-hormonal explanation of behavioral differences criticized by Longino at least makes a direct appeal to a physical cause, namely hormones. Spearman, on the other hand, makes the logical leap from a principal component necessitated by his own statistical procedure to the inference that its cause must be an innate physical trait. Again, such reasoning amounts to holding that the first principal component or dominant factor, g (a mathematical feature), of matrices of intelligence tests *necessarily* corresponds to some physical reality. Hence, Spearman's claim that general intelligence, g, is innate was based entirely upon his fallacious inference of causality from correlation.

Murray and Herrnstein come close to acknowledging this much. Spearman's positing of the reality of g, is "based on statistical analysis rather than direct observation . . . Its reality therefore was, and remains, arguable" (p. 3). This surprising acknowledgment on their part that g's reality remains arguable ninety-two years after it was posited by Spearman hardly amounts to a scientific vindication of his speculation or their listing it first among the six conclusions they accept from the classical school. Moreover, Spearman's recanting of reification in his posthumously published 1950 book is even more surprising:

> We are under no obligation to answer such questions as: whether "factors" have any "real" existence? Do they admit of genuine "measurement"? Does the notion of "ability" involve at bottom any kind of cause, or power? Or is it only intended for the purpose of bare description? . . . At their time and in their place such themes are doubtless well enough. The senior writer himself has indulged in them not a little. *Dulce est desipere* in loco [it is pleasant to act foolishly from time to time -- a line from Horace]. But for the present purposes he has felt himself constrained to keep within the limits of barest empirical science. These he takes to be at bottom nothing but description and prediction . . . The rest is mostly illumination by way of metaphor and similes. (Gould, p. 298).

Spearman's own recantation of the reality of g must be regarded as devastating to hereditarianism or the classical tradition. Murray and Herrnstein hardly can rely upon "the arguability" of Spearman's recanted thesis as they explicitly do (p. 23). Rather, they must show that *that* thesis can be recovered beyond *the limits of barest empirical science*, which they fail to do.

Moreover, L. L. Thurstone, himself a hereditarian, argues in *The Vectors of the Mind* that a mere mathematical average, as is the case with Spearman's g, is unworthy of the status of necessity which Spearman accords to it. He points out that as an average g is not a fixed quantity; it is entirely dependent upon the battery of tests from which it is derived. So, for example, if the

battery of tests are dominated by measures of verbal as opposed to mathematical or spatial ability, g's position or value will shift accordingly. Thurstone believed that such shifting is indicative that g is not a fixed quantity and, thus, cannot correspond to an innate, physical feature of human intelligence.

Thurstone introduced the technique of rotating factor axes to better account for clusters at a significant distance from what Spearman had labeled the first principal component or g. Based on this rotational method he claimed that seven rather than a single primary mental ability emerge, each independent from the other. As a consequence of this finding, he inferred that that g is not even a primary mental ability, must less first in a hierarchy of mental abilities, or single unitary factor of intelligence. This led him to lobby for an array of PMA scores to replace the single IQ score, a more egalitarian approach to test measurement which better suited him ideologically (Gould, p. 335).

At a time prior to his recantation, Spearman recognized the serious challenge that Thurstone's work posed. "Hitherto all such attacks on it [g] appear to have eventually weakened into mere attempts to explain it more simply. Now, however, there has arisen a very different crisis: in a recent study, nothing has been found to explain; the general factor has just vanished" (Spearman 1939, p. 78). Spearman responded by arguing that Thurstone's primary mental abilities were also artifacts of chosen tests, not invariant vectors of mind (Gould, p. 338). In other words, he accused Thurstone of reification! In addition, Cyril Burt, Spearman's accomplished and infamous student observed that in later work, Thurstone acknowledged a secondary g. Further, Jensen's 1979 critique attempts to reconcile Thurstone's acknowledgment of a secondary g with the views of Spearman and Burt (p. 343). But as Gould points out, this was not a significant concession on Thurstone's part. Burt and Spearman's g was deemed by them to be hierarchically superior to all other cognitive components. On the other hand, the secondary g concession by Thurstone was an acknowledgment that the factor axes of his correlation matrices were not entirely orthogonal (totally uncorrelated). The crucial point though is that the internal correlations among vectors were significantly greater (higher) than correlations between factors. In short, secondary g could not do the work that Spearman's and Burt's unitary theory of intelligence required.

Gould is an expert in the use of factor analysis himself. He considers it to be an excellent method for descriptive work as distinct from empirical findings. Thurstone seems to concur. To wit, in his 1947 revision of *The Vectors of Mind*, Thurstone makes the following observation:

> The exploratory nature of factor analysis is often not understood. Factor analysis has its principal usefulness at the borderline of science . . . Factor analysis is useful, especially in those domains where basic and fruitful concepts are essentially lacking and where crucial experiments have been difficult to conceive. The new methods have a humble role. They enable us to make only the crudest first map of a new domain (p. 56).

In choosing between Spearman's and Thurstone's competing systems of factor analysis, Gould suggests that such a choice would depend upon how one wants to organize data. He acknowledges that goals and ideology invariably impact upon that choice. He again reminds us that it is the attempt to equate such data with empirical findings that has been the frequent error of

factorists. To their credit, both Spearman and Thurstone acknowledged this to be the case, unlike their successors, Cyril Burt, Arthur Jensen, Charles Murray and Richard Herrnstein, all committed to the use of IQ for the hierarchical ranking of persons and groups.

Let us now move on to the second area of Gould's criticism which addresses the claim that intelligence is heritable. The contention of Spearman's student, Cyril Burt, that the IQ heritability factor was approximately .78 from one generation to the next was discredited when it was discovered that Burt had fabricated much of his study. Still, Jensen later claimed that IQ heritability is .8. Hereditarians suppose that two points flow from these heritability estimates. The first is that inasmuch as intelligence is heritable, it must be fixed in some important way. The second supposition is that heritability explains the IQ gap between groups, e.g., the black and white races, rather than the environment. From Gould's point of view, these suppositions reflect a gross misunderstanding of what "heritable" means, generating what he calls the "hereditarian fallacy" (p. 185). According to him, this fallacy has two aspects. There is "the equation of 'heritable' with 'inevitable'; and there is the confusion of within- and between group heredity" (p. 186).

Gould points out that while heritability "refers to the passage of traits or tendencies along family lines as a result of genetic transmission," that does not preclude a "range of environmental modification to which these traits are subject" (p. 186). Speaking as a biologist, he observes that "inherited" does not mean "inevitable," although it may have that connotation in the popular vernacular. He observes that environmental interventions can be used to modify inherited defects, e.g., corrective lens for inherited poor vision. In other words, the mere fact that a trait is heritable does not permit a conclusion about inevitable limits of the trait in question, or make it possible to quantify strictly the result of the interaction of the trait with the environment. For example, the famous pilot Chuck Yeager might very well have had 20-10 vision. Yeager's son conceivably might inherit that trait and still might not develop that vision. Along the same lines, cognitive traits seem especially subject to development and developmental opportunities. Thus presumably, learning opportunities would be the paradigm of developmental opportunities with respect to cognitive traits. As Gould puts it, "the claim that IQ is so-many percent heritable does not conflict with the belief that enriched education can increase what we call, also in the vernacular, 'intelligence'" (p. 186). Moreover, from this point of view, parental IQ is itself a combination of heredity and environment. Therefore, what parents can pass on to their offspring is not in totality genetic.

In his paper, "Exploding the Myth of Scientific Support for the Theory of Black Intellectual Inferiority," Johnathan Crane focuses on Arthur Jensen's attempt to establish that intelligence is innate and fixed on the basis that its heritability is in the range of .8 (80%) from generation to generation. Crane notes that Jensen appeals to studies of the correlations of IQ scores among individuals with different amounts of genes and family environment in common to estimate the heritability of IQ (that is, the proportion of the variation in IQ scores determined by genes to arrive at his estimate). According to Crane, it is on that basis that Jensen conjectures that the variation difference of .2 is insufficient to allow for an environmental explanation for the gap between the races (Jensen, 1969). Crane argues that this is a "most fundamental theoretical error" (p. 191). He contends in his article that even if heritability was 1.0, environmental differences could still account for the approximately one standard deviation IQ gap (fifteen points) between whites and

blacks as groups. "As Jencks (1980) demonstrated, no matter how high heritability is, it sets no upper limit on the proportion of variation in a trait (a phenotype) that is determined by environmental factors" (p. 191). This is so, according to Crane, because there are two general types of causal relationships that make genetic and environmental effects on cognitive skills (and many other traits) non-additive.

One general type of causal relationship is a product of the tendency of the environment to react differently to people with different genes (Jencks, 1980; Plomin, Defries, & Loehlin, 1977). Crane observes that people with genes for dark skin systematically encounter different environments than do others in our society. In his view, this illustrates that the "environmental" explanation of the race gap in cognitive skills actually assumes that the cause of the gap is both 100% genetic and 100% environmental in the sense that genes for black skin cause the environment to react to the individual in such a way as to discourage the development of such skills (p. 192). He parenthetically adds: "But of course these are not the same genes [the one's for black skin] that hereditarians assume are causing the gap" (p. 192). That is, presumably skin color genes are distinct from intellectual development genes.

Continuing to cite Jencks, Plomin, et al., Crane states that "the other general type of relationship is a consequence of genes causing people to seek out particular environments . . . it is not implausible that people who are innately intelligent tend to be more interested in intellectual pursuits and thus put more time and effort into developing their cognitive skills" (p. 192). If this is true, then heritability estimates fail to distinguish between the direct effect of genes and the indirect effect that works through the choices of individuals to expose themselves to intellectual enrichment. It is also quite possible that other types of genes could influence the effort a person puts into learning. With respect to the race gap specifically, Fordham (1988) argued that the peer culture of Black children discourages intellectual pursuits (Crane, p. 192). In sum, heritability and innateness do not equate to a thesis that biology is inevitable or destiny. Neither notion makes implausible the idea that inherited traits are subject to environmental modification and to a significant degree, as was suggested in the first section of this paper through the discussion of Longino's interactionist approach to human behavior and intelligence.

Turning to Gould's second form of the hereditarian fallacy, the error involved is extending comparisons that can be made within groups to comparisons to be made between groups. Just because heredity may be a significant explanatory factor for differences in IQ among individuals of the same caste, that does not necessarily hold when the attempt is made to explain the variation in IQ between castes. Crane agrees with Gould that this is a fundamental theoretical flaw in the hereditarian methodology. He points out that estimates of heritability are necessarily within-race estimates because of the nature of the methodology. He cites a 1976 publication of Lewontin for the proposition that even if the heritability of a trait is 100% within two groups, differences in the trait between the groups could be completely environmental. To illustrate this point, Crane provides the following example:

> Assume that height is completely determined by genes and nutrition. Suppose that there are two islands, one extremely lush and the other extremely sparse. The two sets of islanders have identical distributions of genes determining height. Everyone on the same island has the same diet, but the diet on the lush

> island is nutritionally much richer than the one on the sparse island. Thus the people on the lush island are taller, on average. In that case, differences in height within each set of islanders would be completely genetic, whereas the differences between the two sets of islanders would be completely environmental (p. 192).

This illustration is consistent with voluminous data that demonstrate that inherited characteristics, such as height, with heritability coefficients approaching unity (1.0) sometimes change dramatically from one generation to the next.

> The data may violate some preconceived notions of heritability, but in one respect, at least, they should not: The statistics from which one calculates indexes of heritability are only coefficients of correlation between the measured characteristics of family members (e.g., Falconer, 1981; Taylor 1980); and correlations have nothing to say about mean (or variability) differences between the variables" (Angoff, p. 714).

In other words, intergenerational change in height appears to be entirely irrelevant to the heritability coefficient itself. That is evidenced by the fact that studies (Tanner 1962) on American and British adolescents of today report that adolescents are one half foot taller on average than their ancestors of a century ago (p. 714). In addition, on a study of 898 American-born children of Japanese parents in California, Greulich (1957) reported that these children were taller, heavier, more advanced skeletally, and during the prepubertal period, distinctly longer-legged than the children in Japan (p. 714). As Angoff suggests: "What is more to the point is that if a trait with this degree of heritability is so changeable, then certainly other traits, like intelligence, which are acknowledged to have lower heritability coefficients, may also be changeable" (p. 714).

Crane turns into his favor, the hereditarian objection that within-group heritability estimates are applicable to between-group differences, unless there are environmental effects unique to one of the groups. He suggests that with respect to the issue at hand, this would correspond to the phenomenon of race-specific environmental effects, like racism or unique aspects of black culture. The hereditarian response is, naturally, that such race-specific effects cannot account for such a large gap. However, that response begs the question, since, as Crane points out, "no one has ever attempted to systematically test this hypothesis . . ." (p. 192). Finally, he asserts that the application of within-race heritability estimates to between-race differences would also be invalid even if all environmental factors affect both groups, as long as the pattern of effects was different for each group.

The foregoing discussion illustrates that significant conceptual difficulties exist with respect to the attempt(s) of the hereditarian or classical tradition to provide a coherent scientific account of a connection between IQ and a causal, innate trait of human intelligence. The connection that those such as Jensen, Murray and Herrnstein suppose is inferred from the correlations upon which Spearman's supposition of a general factor of intelligence, g, was based. Yet that contention was denied six decades ago within the hereditarian school itself by Thurstone who has not been refuted. His differences with Spearman cannot be glossed over despite the attempt by Murray and Herrnstein to do so (p. 3). Similar to the divergence in their methods of analysis, the conceptions of intelligence offered by Spearman and Thurstone likewise diverge. If intelligence is to be

construed as a single unitary factor, as was proposed by Spearman, it results in a single score of intelligence or cognitive ability, call it IQ; whereas for Thurstone, there are seven primary mental abilities, which would presumably result in a corresponding number of these scores of cognitive abilities per individual. In any event, however, both theories are plagued by the fallacies of reification (inferring cause from correlation) and hereditarianism (the conflation of heritability with inevitability). Robert Plomin has noted the problem of "shaking the mistaken notion that genetic differences begin prior to birth and remain immutable ever after" (p. 253). His assertion that "longitudinally stable characters are not necessarily hereditary, nor are genetically influenced characters necessarily stable over time" (p. 254), concurs with Gould's and Crane's attacks on the hereditarian fallacy.

The plain fact of the matter is that not a scintilla of neurological, physiological or other empirical scientific evidence has been brought forth by the classical school, including Murray and Herrnstein, to support their contention that IQ is biologically determined. At best, hereditarian speculations about the physical basis of IQ still hover around what Thurstone called *the borderlines of science*.

III. The Social Significance of the IQ Gap

In their work, Murray and Herrnstein seek to present or promote two *brute facts* with respect to social differences (i.e., to comparative success and failure) between the races. One is that IQ is correlated significantly to those differences; the other is that there is no evidence that social interventions can improve IQ substantially. Their book appears to provide a considerable quantity of data in furtherance of those two claims. While facts or correlations may not immediately imply causal relationships, they often convey an important message just the same. It is one thing to deny that the hereditarian explanation of IQ differences is vindicated scientifically; it is quite another to reject the stated correlations as lacking any practical importance.

It is apparent that many in American society feel that *The Bell Curve's* message about the cause of social differences between the races has a ring of truth about it, and is not merely a marginal view held only by conservatives and the extremist fringe of this society. Questions about the validity of equal opportunity efforts are being raised from liberal quarters too on the basis of the IQ gap and other scores said to be measures of aptitude. A case in point is an incident involving the President of Rutgers University, Francis L. Lawrence. In a Fall 1994 speech to his faculty senate that was taped and subsequently leaked to the press, he is recorded stating the following: ". . . Let's look at the S.A.T.'s. The average S.A.T. for African Americans is 750. Do we set standards in the future so that we don't admit anybody without the national test? Or do we deal with a disadvantaged population that doesn't have that genetic hereditary background to have a higher average?" (A16 *Chronicle on Higher Education*, February 10, 1995). Implicit in Lawrence's comment is that there is no academic or meritorious reason for African Americans to be recruited to his university. In sum, the wide notice of, if not sympathy to, *The Bell Curve's* correlation of the IQ gap with issues of significant public concern (e.g., teenage pregnancies, crime, school dropouts, welfare and the like) has shifted the burden to the opponents of this book's theses to provide a plausible response. There are at least two ways to do so. First, there

are grounds for believing that the IQ gap can be closed. Second, irrespective of whether the gap can be closed, its formula of *a place for everyone* can be challenged on the basis that it simply is not just.

The basic strategy for showing that the gap can be closed is to control for the effects of environment upon cognitive development or IQ. As Johnathan Crane states, "the idea is to determine whether specific environmental features can explain the entire Black-White difference" (p. 196). Regression models first designed for this purpose controlled for socioeconomic and structural factors (e.g., household size and family composition). Such approaches accounted for a substantial portion of the gap but not all of it. More recent regression studies have been amplified to control for certain non-structural factors as well (e.g., cultural difference, home environment, emotional, and behavioral factors). According to Crane, the studies of this later research [Mercer and Brown (1973); Duncan, Brook-Gunn, and Kebanov (1993); and Crane (1993)] show that the entire gap can be attributed to a combination of socioeconomic status, structural and non-structural environmental effects. Crane reports "that home environment explains about two thirds of the gap, with socio-economic and other structural factors accounting for the remaining third" (p. 196). That is, lower IQ scores on the part of blacks may be interpreted as effects of the negative impact of those factors rather than *the underlying cause* of social differences. Moreover, from this point of view the claim that "IQ scores are stable, although not perfectly so, over much of a person's life" (p. 22) is not incompatible with an environmental explanation. As long as the environmental factors to which the gap can be attributed are left unattended, such stability should not be surprising.

In other words, *The Bell Curve's* findings that past egalitarian-minded programs have not significantly closed the IQ gap does not diminish the promise of studies like Crane's (and studies that have dealt with the effects of deprivation upon cognitive performance generally). Those findings do not rule out the hypothesis that certain structural and non-structural factors of the social environment depress the improvement of IQ scores on the part of blacks. Policies or programs intended to reduce or eliminate the hostile environmental factors in question can be distinguished readily from ones designed merely to help one cope within the environment as is. This is a distinction that Murray and Herrnstein fail to consider. When seen in the light of this distinction, it is understandable that early childhood programs such as Headstart initially may increase IQ scores by as much as six points, which they are quick to point out is dissipated as the children get older. Rather than construe that as support for the contention that cognitive ability is essentially fixed (as they do), a plausible alternative interpretation is that it is easier for such programs to make an impact upon younger persons because they have yet to experience the full effects of a hostile environment. Such a stance is not undermined because many of the recipients of this early training will be unable to withstand the future assaults of that environment from which they cannot be shielded.

Nor do the correlations of IQ and social differences pointed to in *The Bell Curve* necessarily lead to the conclusion that egalitarian-minded interventions should be abandoned. Ironically, its correlations of IQ to social differences can be taken to suggest that American public policy should be radicalized to require more fundamental alterations of the social environment if closing the IQ gap between the races has the importance it suggests. On the other hand, the types of programs it criticizes can be justified on the basis that they are necessary ways to enable blacks

and other disadvantaged persons to cope better within the present social environment even if participation in such programs does not close the IQ gap. From that perspective, a more reasonable standard of review is the extent to which these programs achieve that goal. There should not be any expectation nor pretense that such programs should alter society to such a degree that the negative impact of environmental effects (say certain manifestations of institutionalized white racism) will be eliminated. That much seems evident from the well-publicized opposition to policies likely to bring about significant structural change in the environment (e.g., busing), and/or that provide substantive compensation (e.g., affirmative action) for the retardant features of the present social environment.

Nothing here is intended to suggest that biology is not a factor in cognitive development, only that it is not unreasonable to hypothesize that the IQ gap can be attributed to environmental factors. Even if this hypothesis turns out to be overly optimistic with respect to the portion of the gap that can be accounted for by the negative impact of the environmental factors Crane and others have identified, remedial efforts in the identified areas should still proceed. As Helen Lambert has asserted, what social differences are to be tolerated is an ethical or political question, not a scientific one. That obstacles are biologically-based in some degree is not a barrier to their removal; there is no reason to regard such obstacles as any more sacrosanct than socially created ones. Sowell makes the interesting point that the average American student is working so far beneath her ability that it is not worth worrying about what her abstract potential is. In other words, closing the IQ gap need not be the overriding issue that Murray and Herrnstein have made it out to be; enabling and motivating students to work up to their ability (however it may be measured) is clearly a more pressing concern. Should the latter concern be given greater priority in intervention strategies, it is reasonable to believe that society as a whole would be much better off than by a move away from equal opportunity. Under such a scenario standardized testing would continue to play an important role; one of primarily a diagnostic nature as opposed to one of screening or stratification.

Murray and Herrnstein invoke the memory of Plato throughout their book. Undoubtedly, that is due to his stature and the fact that cognitive stratification was an important feature of his proposal for an ideal state. However, the plan of social organization that Murray and Herrnstein put forward in their last chapter, "A Place for Everyone," at most bears a superficial resemblance to Plato's meritocracy. Although this is not an endorsement of his model of society, Plato was deeply concerned at least about the dangers of merging wealth with high social standing. For him it was critical that a just society be structured so that its classes would be mutually dependent upon one another. He believed that it was only in this way that social harmony (to him a necessary and sufficient condition of justice) could be achieved. For that reason, the upper or guardian class of his state (the equivalent of Murray's and Herrnstein's cognitive elite) was denied material wealth and made dependent upon the lower classes for their material well-being. Also, in order to insure that their children did not receive any special social advantages by virtue of family membership, he insisted that the offspring of the guardian class be raised in a communal setting open to children of any class. In other words, Plato's goal was to structure his society around merit as he saw it, but he was not an hereditarian. He did not subscribe to the view that biological inheritance was necessarily determinative of human intelligence and development. By contrast, the solution for social reorganization put forth by *The Bell Curve* is a "supply side" version of cognitive stratification. That is, while it makes a token suggestion for some redistribution of wealth, it is largely content to leave the holding of power and the creation of wealth in the hands of those it

deems the most cognitively able in the belief that all classes will be better served. Such a solution is hardly heedful of Plato's plan. Murray's and Herrnstein's lack of sufficient concern for Plato's insistence that mutual dependence of classes is a prerequisite of justice condemns their idea even as a formula for a meritocracy. Their notion of *place for everyone* is even less inviting to those who reject meritocracy as a species of democracy in the first place.

In conclusion, I have endeavored to find a disinterested reason why anyone familiar with American culture would consider *The Bell Curve's* underlying "scientific" explanation for social differences in this society to be sound, but none occurs to me. As suggested in the second section of this paper, it seems remarkably naive, or perhaps unintuitive is more appropriate, to suppose that biology (nature) or, conversely, the environment (nurture) singularly or primarily accounts for intellectual potential and development in humans. My intuition is based on my observations and conception of infinite variability in human lives, such that each (biology and environment) contributes in ways and degrees that are probably far too complex to sort out in the linear, hereditarian accounts with which *The Bell Curve* associates itself. There can be an heredity argument made for why one chooses to do what one does, and there can be an environmental one. But there is no way to measure or apportion the weight that should be given to either side. That is, there is no way to identify genes for occupational preference, e.g., to be a carpenter. Consider the dearth of men that pursue ballet. Many more men are capable of being ballet dancers but fear that their masculinity might be questioned. On the other hand, women traditionally have not been as inclined toward contact sports because of the corollary fear about their femininity being questioned. To sort out the respective roles that heredity and environment play in cognitive development would require the regimentation of all aspects of the lives of the experimental subjects, as only possible in a totalitarian, Nazi-like state.

It is curious why such a significant portion of *The Bell Curve* "digresses" into a discussion about racial differences in intelligence. I have two theories. Either Murray and Herrnstein take out a wider terrain to camouflage their real goal of impugning black intelligence in order to thwart racial justice, or they are exploiting the political hot button of intelligence, race and social policy in order to bait the public into accepting the links they make between IQ and social policy in general. If the latter is the case, then not only blacks but other beneficiaries of current social justice programs (e.g., women and the lower class), would be adversely affected as well. Even if my suspicions of the authors' motives are unfounded I have no doubt about the effects of their approach. Nor did they. "That many readers have turned first to this chapter [13] indicates how sensitive the issue has become" (p. 270). I could not agree more with Murray and Herrnstein on this point. However, they must accept responsibility for further inflaming, if not exploiting, that sensitivity since it was not critical to their general thesis about intelligence and *human differences* for them to focus on *racial differences*. That Murray and Herrnstein make such a link and then protest that others are too passionate about such a linkage is a bit much.

Thus, we are left as we began this inquiry, without knowing what IQ measures, nor what underlying physical causes contribute to it, in whatever degree. Accordingly, it hardly can be maintained coherently, from the hereditarian or classical tradition at least, that race is in some way a parameter of intelligence. Nor must the inevitability of cognitively-based social stratification be conceded as the natural consequence of IQ differences. Murray's and Herrnstein's arrogant proposal for the social ranking of individuals and groups on that basis is neither scientifically nor ethically justified.

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Emotional Intelligence
Daniel Goleman

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Dedication: *This critique is dedicated to Jerome Johnson, the man who suggested that this book was worth reading and a friend of my dearest niece Victoria M. Williams, both of whom reside in the greater Metropolitan area of Washington, DC, home of my birthplace and childhood.*

Daniel Goleman (1995), in his book Emotional Intelligence, offers refreshingly new insights about the nature of intelligence - *which are definitely more palatable to African Americans than those offered by Jensen (1969, 1980), Jencks (1979) and Shockley (1987), in the past, and Herrnstein and Murray (1994), more recently.* Goleman argues that the genetic and immutable aspects of the IQ concept of intelligence makes it a worthless factor in helping one achieve success in life. He emphatically states, *and presents more than adequate research to show*, that emotional intelligence (EI) is more powerful than IQ in determining life success.

Goleman defines EI as "the ability to motivate oneself and persist in the face of frustrations; to control impulse and delay gratification; to regulate one's moods and keep distress from swamping the ability to think; to empathize and to think" (p. 34). He describes EI as the master aptitude that can either enhance or interfere with one's innate mental abilities and academic performance; and thus, it is EI rather than IQ that is a more important determinant in how well one does in life.

Using the character of Data in Star Trek: The Next Generation, who is an android but desperately yearns - *if he could yearn* - for human emotions, Goleman shows how the past 80 years of research on intelligence has been emotionally flat and is now just beginning to recognize the essential role of feelings in thinking. He states that, unlike Data, people have an *emotional brain* and a *rational brain* and that the emotional brain is capable of "hijacking" the functions of the rational brain. That is, the emotional brain is capable of crippling one's intellectual abilities and overwhelming all of one's thoughts and concentration. For example, he states, "When we are emotionally upset we say we 'just can't think straight' - and why continual emotional distress can create deficits in a child's intellectual abilities, crippling the capacity to learn" (p.27).

Goleman, continuing in this vein, devotes the next half of this book to discussions on the nature of emotional intelligence. The reader is here warned that a basic understanding of the biological bases of human behavior or a rudimentary background in human physiology and/or neuropsychology will greatly facilitate one's reading of the text. Throughout the text, amygdala-cortical circuitry and its neurological functions are referenced. However, for those not

so well versed on this subject matter, Goleman does a commendable job in simplifying these concepts so that they do not severely impede one's understanding of the etiology of EI.

Goleman's treatise on emotional intelligence does not dwell on the political and economic factors which contribute to the hardships of life. Rather, his focus is on the role which emotional competence can play in helping people to be more successful in life. He contends that alleviating poverty and other socially impoverishing conditions is only one source, albeit a significant one, in eradicating life hardships. However, given current dwindling political and legal efforts towards that goal, Goleman may be suggesting a more viable alternative, especially for African Americans, to deal with the hardships of life: revitalizing and cultivating one of our already natural talents, our emotional intelligence.

Goleman identifies five essential emotional intelligence skills: **emotional self-awareness, emotional self-regulation, emotional self-control, empathy, and interpersonal power**. *As one reads these pages, moments of deja vu occur and passages from Derrick Bell's (1996) Gospel Choirs: Psalms of Survival in an Alien Land Called Home run through the mind:*

> *"I can articulate the triple threat blacks face today . . . **First** (author's emphasis). The status of most blacks is steadily getting worse . . . Black unemployment is more than twice the overall rate; black income is only 60 percent that of whites . . . (and) the prisons are filled with black men who have turned to crime . . . **Second**. The economic distress blacks are suffering is a dramatic illustration of the technological revolution that is eliminating work as the cornerstone of the nation's stability . . . **Third**. History not only teaches but warns that, in periods of severe economic distress, the rights of blacks are eroded and the lives of blacks endangered . . . African Americans are condemned to suffer because of economic conditions we did not create . . . Given this environment of black blame . . . (where) the courts and political process . . . are woefully inadequate to protect our lives, much less our rights . . . (What then are the remedies?) . . . We need a foundation for new tactics that speaks directly to today's crisis, one that also encompasses the vehicles of faith and steadfastness that have served us so well in past struggles. A stack of gospel music recordings sparked my thinking and buoyed my spirits. There must be a connection between this music and how we utilized it in earlier ordeals and its potential for now " (pp. 5-11).*

Is emotional intelligence possibly one of the new tactics that speaks directly to African Americans and offers us a remedy to today's crises? Certainly IQ does not! If not IQ, then may be EI.

Goleman defines the first EI skill, emotional self-awareness, as the ability to be aware of one's moods and the thoughts about that mood. He states that gut feelings are somatic markers

that one uses in personal decision-making that steers one away from choices that experience warns against. Using the emotion of shame, he illustrates how emotions affect how one perceives and reacts even though an individual has no idea that they are at work.

The emotion of shame includes guilt, embarrassment, chagrin, remorse, humiliation, regret, mortification and contrition. *Perhaps it is the lack of emotional self-awareness in regards to shame that explains Carter G. Woodson's (1990) observation regarding the Mis-Education of the Negro:*

> *" If you can control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his action. When you determine what a man shall think you do not have to concern yourself about what he will do. If you make a man feel that he is inferior, you do not have to compel him to accept an inferior status, for he will seek it himself. If you make a man think that he is justly an outcast, you do not have to order him to the back door. He will go without being told; and if there is no back door, his very nature will demand one" (pp. 84-85).*

The second EI skill that Goleman discusses is emotional self-regulation. He defines it as the ability to keep distressing emotions in check, especially rage (out of control anger), fear and sadness. He states that anger builds on anger. That is, ventilating one's anger every time feeds anger and makes it a more likely response to any annoying situation. One way to handle anger, he suggests, is to reframe annoying situations more positively - to deflate anger, to challenge the thoughts that trigger the surges of anger. Another way is to get away from the situation and/or person(s) causing the anger. He points out that this method of de-escalating anger is synonymous to "cooling off physiologically by waiting out the adrenal surge in a setting where there are not likely to be further triggers for rage" (p. 63).

Goleman describes worries as self-fulfilling prophecies that propel one towards the very disaster that they predict. He advises that the way to handle worries is by challenging worrisome thoughts: Calculate the probability that the dreaded event will occur. Determine what constructive steps can be taken. Assess does it really help to run through the same anxious thoughts over and over again.

Sadness, according to Goleman, encompasses feelings of self-hatred, sense of worthlessness, sense of dread, alienation, melancholy, and depression. Sadness can be handled by socializing, questioning the validity of one's thoughts, thinking of positive alternatives, engaging in pleasant activities, helping others and, if one is religious, praying.

Later in his book, Goleman extensively discusses how emotions of depression, anxiety, and anger negatively affect one's health. He reports that research shows that these three emotions negatively impact the immune system which, in turn, leads to medical and/or health-related illnesses. The research on depression shows that it impedes medical recovery and heightens the risk of death for patients with severe conditions such as cancer, bone marrow transplants, and heart disease. Psychiatric help along with medical treatment were found to best affect the course of

a disease. That is, patients with positive mental outlooks were found to have faster recoveries and fewer medical complications later on than those who received only medical treatment.

Stress, a form of anxiety, was reported to lead to gastrointestinal disorders, viral infections (colds, flues, herpes, and so on), myocardial infarctions (heart attacks and strokes), onset of Type I diabetes, course of Type II diabetes, asthma attacks, and arthritis. Treatment in the form of relaxation training was reported to ease symptoms of a wide variety of chronic illnesses associated with stress.

Anger was reported as the one emotion that does the most harm to the heart. It was found to heighten the risk of death from heart disease and to be a stronger predictor of dying young than smoking, high blood pressure and high cholesterol. - *Perhaps for African Americans anger and rage account for the senseless high mortality rates among African Americans as evidenced by Black-on-Black crime, domestic violence, gang warfare, and drive-by shootings. Were Grier and Cobbs (1968) describing Black Rage turned inward?* - Goleman discusses anger-control training (ACT) as a way to reduce chronic anger. He states that ACT essentially comprises the first two basic elements of EI: emotional self-awareness and self-regulation.

Goleman defines the third element of EI, emotional self-control, as the ability to delay immediate gratification of an impulse in other to attain some greater goal. He states that impulse control enables one to become more socially competent (i.e., able to accurately read and/or assess social situations); more personally effective and self-assertive; better able to cope with frustrations of life (i.e., less likely to regress under stress and become disorganized when pressured); and able to embrace challenges and not give up in the face of difficulties.

Strategies to gain emotional self-control included telling a joke and/or having a good laugh, having hope, and being optimistic. Telling a joke or having a good laugh was found to induce good moods and to enhance one's mental flexibility and ability to solve problems that demand creative solutions. - *Reminiscent of Richard Pryor's resilience?* - Having hope entails believing one has both the will and way to accomplish his/her goals. It involves being flexible enough to find different ways to attain goals or to switch goals if they become impossible, and being able to break formidable tasks into smaller manageable pieces.

Being optimistic means having a sense of self-efficacy - being able to bounce back from failure. Failure is viewed as something that can be changed so that the next time one is successful rather than viewing failure as some lasting personality characteristic that is impossible to change. Goleman states that optimism and hope can be learned - *just like helplessness and despair*.

The fourth element of EI is empathy, which is described as the ability to know how another feels, especially from nonverbal cues. Goleman states that 90 percent or more of emotional messages are nonverbal and that people skilled at reading these messages are more popular and emotionally stable than those less skilled. People who are incapable of empathy readily inflict injury on others. That is, they show an emotional detachment which enables them to create perverted fantasies about the pain of someone else that leads to delight in intimidating and/or

making others suffer. In addition, such people have the ability to engage in acts of terrorism, brutality, and various types of criminality.

Closely related to empathy is the fifth EI skill, interpersonal power, which is the ability to manage emotions in someone else. Since emotions pass unconsciously from one person to another, as evidenced by changes in facial expressions, gestures, tone of voice, and so on, people who are adept at attuning to other people's moods or swaying the moods of others are socially competent and successful. They tend to be leaders, good negotiators, team players, and good spouses and friends.

The last two major sections of Goleman's book are devoted to applications of EI in specific situations and an exposition on the "emotional malaise" plaguing today's youth. He discusses applications of EI in marriage, the workplace, and sickness - *see comments above regarding emotions and one's health*. In marriage, Goleman states that couples headed for divorce typically exhibit more emotional hijacking than emotional intelligence. This is, "at full hijacking - a person's emotions are so intense, their perspective so narrow, and their thinking so confused that there is no hope of taking the other's viewpoint or settling things in a reasonable way" (p. 139). He advises couples to see negativity as the demand to be heard. To be emotionally intelligent in marriage means showing *empathy* (hearing the feelings behind what is said by one's spouse), *nondefensive speaking* (keeping what is said to a complaint rather than a personal and/or character attack on one's partner), *validation* (seeing things from the perspective of one's spouse and acknowledging the validity of his/her point of view even if one disagrees with it), and *apology* (taking responsibility and apologizing when one is wrong).

In the workplace, Goleman addresses three applications of EI: giving and receiving criticism, dealing with diversity, and organizational savvy. He states that the art of giving criticism involves being specific; offering solutions rather than remarks that only frustrate, demoralize or demotivate the recipient; giving criticisms in private and face-to-face; and being sensitive and empathetic to avoid backlash of resentment, bitterness, defensiveness, and distance. He advises the recipient to see criticism as valuable feedback on how to do better rather than a personal attack and an opportunity to work together rather than as an adversarial situation.

Goleman points out that the reasons for diversity include, not only, the urgings of human decency but, more urgently, the demands of pragmatism (globalization, economics, and technology). He states that the ground rule must be that any form of prejudice or bias is out-of-bounds. He acknowledges that prejudices are a variety of emotional learning that occurs early in life which, therefore, makes them especially hard to eradicate. He states, "If people's long-held biases cannot be easily weeded out, what *can* be changed is what they *do* (author's emphases) about them" (p.157). In essence, he advocates a "zero tolerance for intolerance," that is, under no conditions should bigotry and harassment be accepted or tolerated.

In discussing organizational savvy, Goleman focuses on characteristics of "stars" in the workplace. Stars are defined as people who are the most successive and productive on the job. Goleman shows that when stars are compared with everyone else, the differences between them is EI and not IQ. Stars possess six EI qualities:

(1) They have connections to the three primary informal networks in an organization: communications, expertise, and trust. That is, they have people to whom they can turn to for advice; they have a reputation for technical excellence; and people can trust them with their secrets, doubts, and vulnerabilities.

(2) They are team players. They are neither eager beavers who are too controlling or domineering, or deadweights who do not participate.

(3) They are consensus-builders.

(4) They are empathetic. They can see things from the perspective of others.

(5) They promote cooperation and avoid conflict.

(6) They take the initiative. They take on responsibilities above and beyond their stated job duties, and regulate time and work commitments well.

In the last section of his book, Goleman discusses the "emotional malaise" plaguing today's youth. Evidence of this malaise includes increasing rates of juvenile delinquency, rising unwanted teen pregnancies, increasing rates of venereal disease, increased teen drug use, quadrupled juvenile arrest rates for violent crimes (e.g., shootings, rapes, and so on), and other psychological and social problems. Goleman states that the pathway to violence and criminality begins with children who are aggressive and hard to handle in the first grade. These children suffer from perceptual flaws: They see themselves as victims, view neutral acts as threatening ones, and think only of lashing out as the way to react. Goleman describes these children as "emotionally illiterate." What must happen is to teach these children emotional skills: To think before acting, to challenge irrational thoughts and beliefs, to be optimistic in the face of failure and frustration, and to be able to recover quickly from upsets.

Goleman states that childhood and adolescence are "windows of opportunity" for emotional lessons. They are opportunities to reeducate the emotional brain, to relearn essential emotional skills, and to reshape emotional propensities. He notes that, although the underlying feelings of emotions are immutable, changing one's response to his/her feelings does, in fact, alter one's emotional habits and, ultimately, his/her chances of success in life. - *At this point, Goleman then devotes several chapters to explanations of how emotional relearning occurs both physiologically and experientially for abused children and adolescents, those suffering from post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and naturally in regards to temperament. His basic premise is that during childhood essential emotional responses are acquired that sculpt the brain which through emotional training can be reshaped and result in a more successful, productive, and healthy life. He states that the challenge of the "good life" is to learn how to manage emotions with intelligence.*

Goleman concludes his book with examples of various types of emotional literacy programs throughout the country. Evaluations of these programs show that they were effective in improving students' emotional awareness and understanding (e.g., enhanced coping skills and impulse control), classroom behavior (e.g., self-control, sociability, and popularity), and academic achievement. He discusses how these programs and other similar models can readily be adopted and incorporated into their current school curriculums. He advocates the adoption of emotional educational programs which blend emotional lessons with other topics already taught in schools rather than creating separate emotionally-oriented educational programs.

In the last chapter on the last two pages Golemen has a "last word" - *and the last word here also* - in which he states: "Given the crises we find ourselves and our children facing, and given the quantum of hope held out by courses in emotional literacy, we must ask ourselves: Shouldn't we be teaching these most essential skills for life to every child - now more than ever? And if not now, when?" (p.287).

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it never has and it never will."

Frederick Douglass

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